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Father Baegert and His *Nachrichten*

Anyone interested in the colonial history of the southwest coast must give due consideration to the writings of Father Jacob Baegert. In his descriptions of the remote American peninsula of Lower California, written for the immediate enlightenment of Europeans, the sturdy missionary brought together an abundant fund of information for posterity, gathered during his sojourn of seventeen years. Most illuminating to students has been his *Nachrichten*, which was published in 1772 and later republished, re-edited, and translated in part in other than the German language.¹ Therein will be found the views and feelings of a European missionary laboring at his calling in a far off province. Therein will also be found ethnological data about the inhabitants of early California and information about the country, as well as numerous odd tales and curious events of bygone ages. But, when the historian tries to gather data concerning the father himself who worked and thus wrote, and when he wishes to pry into the more personal affairs of Baegert's life, he notices the lack of material and is blocked by a definite anonymity.

Most authorities give the place of his birth as Schlettstadt in Upper Alsace, and there is unanimity with regard to the year in which it took place, 1717.² He was admitted to the novitiate of the Society of Jesus on September 27, 1736, and became a member of the Upper Rhine Province. He was sent to California in 1751 to co-operate with the other Jesuits in charge of that field, and there he served without interruption until the year of the expulsion of the Jesuits from all the provinces and cities of

¹ Jacob J. Baegert, *Nachrichten von der Americanischen Halbinsel Californien: mit einem zweyfachen Anhang falscher Nachrichten*, Mannheim, 1772.

² Augustin de Backer, *Bibliothèque des Ecrivains de la Compagnie de Jésus*, Liège, 1869, I, 491, offers November 22, 1717, as the date of his birth. The later edition of Carlos Sommervogel, *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus*, Paris, 1890, I, 759, gives December 22, 1717.

New Spain in 1767. He was among the sixteen who were deported from California.³ He died probably in December, 1772, at Neuburg in Bavaria, shortly after his book was published. These rather meager data are all that are known of Father Baegert.

From a letter he wrote to his brother on September 11, 1752,⁴ we learn that he worked in the mission, often called St. Aloysius Gonzaga, to which the Spanish applied the name San Luis Gonzaga. In his book he preserves his anonymity by not even mentioning the name of his mission, which, however, can be easily identified by the geographical position he describes. According to this, his mission was situated near the twenty-fifth degree of latitude, thirty miles from the Pacific Ocean, opposite the Bay of Santa Magdalena. The fact of the anonymous authorship of the book, so clearly proven to be his by comparison with his earlier letter, is a very interesting problem and may be a key to the situation of the author at the time when he wrote his book. As one of the many Jesuits deprived of the field of labor and rewarded for effort and service by false denunciations, he set himself to writing the story of his seventeen years in California. The *Nachrichten* was intended to contribute news and at the same time Baegert's share of true information to a curious public in Europe, which, easily deceived and generally gullible about affairs in so distant a place, had come to believe the tales of applause-seeking adventurers who recounted the wonders of California. Among the number of "idle liars" chosen by Baegert for a tongue lashing was a member of his own order, not named but well known to persons interested because of the success of his often translated work.⁵ This Jesuit writer was thought at the time to be Miguel Venegas, though recent research proved him to be Andrés Marcos Burriel.⁶ Baegert spared the author of

³ An account of this was written by Peter M. Dunne, "The Expulsion of the Jesuits from New Spain, 1767," in *MID-AMERICA*, XIX (January, 1937), 3-30.

⁴ Father Jacob Baegert, S. J. *Brief eines Elsaessers aus Californien in Nord-amerika an seinen Bruder in Schlettstadt 1752 von Pater Jacob Baegert d. G. J. Aus dem Patriotischen Elsaesser, Strassburg und Colmar, 1777. Californien, in der Mission des H. Aloysil den 11ten September 1752.*

⁵ *Noticia de la California y de su conquista temporal, y espiritual, hasta el Tiempo Presente. Sacada de la Historia Manuscrita, Formada en México año de 1739, por el Padre Miguel Venegas; y de Otras Noticias, y relaciones antiguas, y modernas*, Madrid, 1757, 3 volumes. An English version and second edition appeared in London in 1759 and 1764 respectively. Translations from this, more or less complete, were published in Dutch (Harlem, 1761, 2 volumes), in French (Paris, 1767, 3 volumes), in German (Lemgo, Lippe, 1769, 1 volume).

⁶ Charles E. Chapman, *A History of California: the Spanish Period*, New York, 1925, 492.

the *Noticia de la California* no criticism in his exposition of what he considered falsehoods.

Especially convinced of the uselessness of long introductions and lengthy discussions, embellishments, and lists, which would only make the book more expensive (Venegas' book was in three volumes), Father Baegert warned the reader that a little digression into the moral of his story must be forgiven him. His calling and profession would furnish the excuse for this, and for his mistakes in grammar and spelling seventeen years among the heathen savages were to be blamed. There is one interesting little phrase to be noticed in this connection, which states that he might spell some of the words wrongly for lack of practice, but that he intended deliberately to spell some of them "wrong" according to modern rules, for he thought these absurd and opposed them as unjustified innovations. The stubborn father preferred to spell seventeen years behind the times.

Father Baegert begins his book with the following sentence: "Conditions are so wretched in California that it is not worth the effort to begin to write about this country." He then tells the reader that he must expect neither great wonders of nature nor special incidents, nor occurrences of consequence. California, he maintains, is not the land to produce the last named, and it has not pleased God to put into it any of the former. Thus, his introduction sounds like a war trumpet heralding a vigorous protest to previous literature, and yet the reader, so coldly discouraged, is caught by the technique of the author. Baegert knew how to insure the curiosity of his reader. One was apt to be curious when told in effect, there is not a thing worth reading in these pages about California; he would wonder what the author was up to who thus put 358 printed pages in his hand. The challenge to read was combined with the temptation to find out what the author was attempting to prove in opposition to the statements of a fellow missionary. This belligerent type of approach has many a modern adherent.

Father Baegert gives as his authority and source his own experience during seventeen years of labor in the land, refusing to rely upon the word of any other, much less upon the fore-mentioned book, which he had read long ago and had entirely forgotten. This is promise of an interesting personal account without glorification, and the reader is not disappointed in it.

The book is divided into three parts. The first treats of the topography, physical geography, geology, and natural history of

the peninsula; the second is about the inhabitants, their life and customs; and the third gives briefly the history of the missions. There are added two appendices of "false information" in which the author refutes, sentence by sentence, the exaggerated reports that had been previously published about California, being particularly severe on Venegas' *Noticia de la California*, which, by the way, was supposed to have been forgotten.

Each of his chapters furnishes ample opportunity to the author for comparing conditions in California with those surrounding him in Europe at the time when he was writing his work. In a Tacitean fashion he rebukes the luxury and extravagance of his countrymen and praises the simplicity of the savage. This attitude is often rather hard to visualize, since the rudeness of the "extravagance" on the one hand, and the doubtful merit of the savage "simplicity" of the Indians on the other appear very rustic in comparison with the classic example of Tacitus. And, in all respect to the serious endeavor of the writer to understand the times and circumstances under which he wrote, the reader of today will find a smile awaiting him between the lines.

What in the earlier letter of Baegert to his brother strikes us as homesickness, cropping out especially in his references to the woods of Hagenau and the rivers and cattle herds of Alsace, becomes pity for a country so desolate and sterile as the California desert of his book. The disappointment apparent in the letter of 1752 could not have been caused entirely by erroneous hopes, since little was known to him about California prior to his arrival. The Venegas-Burriel description was published only in 1757. Yet Baegert's earlier unsympathetic account was just as strongly worded as that in his later book. He was, it seems clear, under no delusions with respect to the land either at the beginning or at the end of his missionary career. To him the strange destinies of this forlorn people was a source of wonderment, and so was the foolishness—with due respect to the Christian motive—of the king and nobles in spending so much money on California. Still, his *Nachrichten* added a certain note of resentment toward the land, and this change had been brought about most probably by the lies and persecution which came in return for honest labor. The distinct purpose of the book was to tell the truth, in which Father Baegert saw the best weapon of defense in the controversy between the Jesuits and their sovereign. A truthful description of the land and people would clear the Society of accusations of self-aggrandizement. This was indeed an

excellent opportunity for a man whose spirit had been trained by years of labor, disappointment, success, failure, and final persecution and exile, and who, still convinced of the value of his work, which his belief never let him doubt, wanted to tell the simple truth as the best evidence and a lasting record of the advancement of civilization.

About Father Jacob's trip to California we have not only the interesting phases recorded in his letter, which was discovered in Bohemia a short time ago, but also the interpretation of the episode which makes this trip a permanent monument in the pages of the *Rim of Christendom* by Herbert E. Bolton.⁷ Father Baegert was prepared by this trip through the wilderness and deserted countryside for the "thorny heap of stones and the pathless, waterless rock, rising between two oceans" which constituted California to him. This province, 750 miles in length, and 50 miles wide, which was almost as wide as the entire Swabian and Bavarian districts, the size of a truly respectable principality if judged by geographic extent, seemed to him desolate. And he assures his reader that the Catholic king would not express his favor by investing anyone with California as a fief, and that a village of a hundred peasants would be of more value to one who seeks the riches of this world than the position of prince or Hospodar⁸ in California. Reflecting this summary of his impressions, Father Jacob arrives at the conclusion that California is without exception the most miserable country under the sun, or, if an equally miserable or worse one was ever discovered by the Argonauts, then California was used by the Almighty Creator as a model for making it.

However bad the country seemed to him, there was a kind sun shining throughout the year and bringing warm weather, and this lovely warm climate constitutes the author's only occasion for a favorable comment. He tells us of the story which was then current among those interested in determining the origin of the name California, that it was supposedly derived from the Latin *Calida fornax*, or warm oven. Although he does not agree as to the deduction of the word, he thinks that it is at least a close description. The scarcity of rain in this "hot oven" made him believe that the heavens were close to California. The few standing waters of varying sizes are described as of different

⁷ Herbert Eugene Bolton, *Rim of Christendom, a Biography of Eusebio Francisco Kino, Pacific Coast Pioneer*, New York, 1936, 235-238.

⁸ A title born formerly by the vassal princes of Moldavia and Wallachia.

natures, some green with putrefaction, some well salted, others bright and clean, and all of them serving for drinking purposes. It is in these "cellars" that the Californians draw their Rhine and Moselle wine.

After this description, it is not astonishing to learn in the next chapter that the country is bare and the soil sterile, that no shade is to be found any place except behind a mountain or rock or in a grave. This was hard luck for the missionaries who had to move about so much in the fulfillment of their priestly duties. Around the few rare oases of which Father Baegert knows, he tells us that the vegetation was extraordinary. Wherever on those few moist patches a seed was planted, marvelous growth was the result.

Thus passing to the growing things, Baegert gives much information. There is nothing in California worthy of the name tree. Brushes, bushes, shrubbery, and thorns are the only plants that can stand the everlasting heat, can survive on rocks, and live on little water. The grass, growing only after the rain, is much too thin to be cut for hay. All the horses and mules, donkeys, cows, and oxen run about the whole year, day and night, in the open lands, upon the mountains, and in the valleys seeking the grass. Such is their sustenance until they are needed or until they die of hunger. For human nourishment the sweet and sour *Pitahaya* constitutes the chief fruit. In fact, a well-grown fruit of this kind would be suitable for any king's table we are told. And for the Indians, the time of the harvest of the *Pitahaya* is the time of prosperity; they eat and grow fat, and they sing and dance more than usual.

Baegert switches over to the animal kingdom of California. The number is not very large, as might be expected in a country too poor for elephants, tigers, or camels. But the hare, coyote, wildcat, leopard, and wild goat live there on a scanty diet. These goats, in fact, had a curious habit of throwing themselves, when pursued, from the highest mountain, landing on their horns without harm to themselves. Such wonders were told to Father Baegert, who admits never having seen the phenomena, and it is hard to judge whether he is sorry that he cannot quite believe the miracle or whether California does not seem to him worthy of any miracles. The latter interpretation appears more probable since no miracle can surpass the horror of the pest of snakes, insects, and grasshoppers, which he takes such great pains to

describe in minute detail. One of the fathers, Ignacio Thirs,⁹ even went so far as to compose "elegant verses" upon the subject of the disgusting reptiles, we are told.

After discussing the flora and fauna, Father Baegert goes one step farther in his second part, introducing to us the inhabitants of California. A long discussion on the numbers of the Indians, not only of California, but of all North America, is in its detail more an attack on Burriel's statements than an independent study. The many small tribes in Lower California, none of which had more than five hundred members and all of whom spoke varying tongues, were difficult for the missionaries to handle. It was therefore necessary to maintain the fifteen missions existing at the time Father Baegert worked on the peninsula, if the Christianization and the civilization were to be of any success. The Indians, living scattered over the whole territory, were not willing to concentrate anywhere or to settle. Nor would an attempt to settle them have been possible since there could be no livelihood provided for a large number at any one mission in California. Father Baegert, observing the existence of these semi-nomads who lived ever and always under the open sky, spending their entire lives hunting, eating, and sleeping, wondered where such people came from. Nothing in it seemed capable of attracting any human being to this desolate spot. Baegert could not find a satisfying answer to the riddle of native origin and existence, and, upon questioning the Indians as to where they came from, he learned that they believed they had come from a bird, which did not help him much.

Describing their ways of life, he tells about the possessions and household goods of the Californians. The "dear ground" is for them their dining and card table, their chair, their couch and bedroom, kitchen and dining hall; the harsh cliffs and mountains are their curtains and tapestries, and their fathom-deep mirrors and mirror rooms are the ever standing marshes and puddles.

Here may be easily found Baegert's reason for calling Rousseau a "wretched fanatic." Coming from nearly two decades of work in California, he had of course no use for the rococo spirit of Versailles, Sans-Souci, Nymphenburg, or Miramar. He had even less appreciation and no sympathy for an *Émile*. He had known the savage man, the *Émile*, and he was by no means ready

⁹ Thürsch, the German spelling, from the Bohemian Gometz, was in charge of the mission, Santiago. See Bancroft, *History of North Mexican States and Texas*, San Francisco, 1884, 468, note 17.

to turn back the clock of the civilization of mankind, nor was he likely to forget the message of Him who said "Follow me, I am the light." Backwardness was nothing ideal to Father Baegert, and knowledge of the actual condition of portions of human kind and of man's weakness and potentialities made him frown upon the laced cleverness of the rationalists as well as upon the enthusiasm of the new romanticists.

Polygamy, clannishness, strife, and struggle with an unkind nature made the Californians a people whose characteristics he summed up in the following words: stupid, clumsy, boorish, slovenly, impudent, thankless, shy, lazy, gossiping, and addicted to lying. Noble savages, indeed!

To teach them the Lord's prayer, of which nine words were lacking from their vocabulary, was a task undertaken for God and with His inspiration. Labor and learning, enthusiasm and patience were put into it with a hope of saving a few more souls from damnation. By-products of his teaching and mastery of the native tongues turn up in unexpected places. His written preservation, for instance, of a whole verb and other examples of the Waicuri language, which neither Clavigero¹⁰ nor Burriel attempted, is documentary evidence of serious endeavor and hard labor and is of great value for the ethnologist of today.

The customs of the Indians in their family relationships and their mode of living, if such a fight for mere existence may be called, were given accurately and truthfully. And here it may be stated that, whatever criticism of the general attitude of the author one may offer, there is no reason to doubt his seriousness at any time. From the level of a mere controversial pamphlet his book rises to a document based on seventeen years of practical work under difficulties and with modest success. In his endeavor to paint a true picture and to refute the ideas of Burriel, he may have leaned a little too much to the negative side. Yet, in view of the circumstances of a misunderstanding century, of Jansenist attack, of reaction, and of the growth of new ideas little comprehended by one who spent years of his life on a project that was then questioned in its entirety, his endeavor to be serious is easily recognized. Especially in his descriptive pages does the author provide us with data of real interest.

In his third part a short history of the missions is given. The

¹⁰ Francisco Javier Clavigero, *Storia della California*, Venezia, 1789. This work has recently been translated into English by Sara E. Lake and A. A. Gray, *The History of [Lower] California*, Stanford University Press, California, 1938.

coming of the Spanish, Father Salvatierra's work in the founding of Loreto and Father Kino's struggles and successes, better known to us from other sources, are sympathetically related. In describing the zeal and the work of his brethren, Baegert finds the best means of refuting the unjust charges of the hostile groups. In his pages the generosity of the founders finds an honorable mention, for he felt that they should be mentioned "out of a sense of thankfulness and for the sake of glory which is owing to the esteemed founders and benefactors."¹¹

Nothing particularly new to the historian is to be found in those pages. What makes that part of Baegert's book worth reading is the development of such an enterprise of the Jesuit order as that of the small unit on the California peninsula. It mirrors in detail what had been going on on a large scale in all of New Spain. And the growth of this plant of European civilization on the soil of a far off province, up to the moment of the expulsion of the Jesuits in 1767, is one instance where the whole can be understood by the analysis of a part.

Not only does the history seem much like that of the mainland missions, but the administration of these fifteen missions was similar. The revenues, the money spent, the accounts kept by the procurator in Mexico City, the supplies sent annually, all this is familiar ground to the student of the Spanish period in Mexico. One phase of particular interest, however, is found in the passage where Baegert describes and defends the relatively luxurious church ornamentations and the wealth of precious things in the mission churches. He tells us how in this wretched country there was so few means of conveying a real spirit of worship to the neophytes that the missionaries took pains to buy with the little money left over from their allowance, or sometimes saved at the sacrifice of personal needs, the most beautiful silver and gold plate, embroideries and tapestries, and new vestments thus to dignify the service. He states that some of the California churches might well stand comparison with fine European churches, and he seizes upon the opportunity to reproach the European priesthood with lack of pride in their churches and neglect of the service. He comments especially upon the untir-

¹¹ Of fifteen missions six were founded by the Marquis de la Villa Puente. The list of missions is given as follows, different from Burriel-Venegas in a few instances: San José del Cabo, 1720; Santiago, 1721; Todos Santos, 1720; Nuestra Señora de los Dolores del Sur, 1721; San Luis Gonzaga, 1757; San Javier, 1699; Loreto, 1697; San José de Comodú, 1708; La Purísima Concepción, 1715; Santa Rosalía, 1705; Guadalupe, 1720; San Ignacio, 1728; Santa Gertrudis, 1751; San Borgia, 1766.

ing labor of Father Javier Bischoff of Bohemia, who taught the Indians to sing, which music, he said, did not sound bad. It seemed only just to him at this point to digress a little into a description of the joy of the Jesuits in the acquisition of every little thing won by their labor for the ornamentation of their churches and services. In the 25th Psalm one reads "Domine dilexi decorem domus tuae," (Lord I have loved the beauty of Thy house), and he concludes, "Let us leave to the Lutherans and Calvinists their empty sacrament tables."

The church service of the mission was of course the center of interest, yet there were other fields in which the fathers had to be versatile and skilled. Agriculture and cattle raising were part of the fight for the existence of a thrifty mission. Much labor had to be invested with little return. Hardly any of the missions could be self-supporting. There was an annual pack-train from Mexico City with goods for the missions by way of Matanchel whence they came by boat to Loreto. There the goods were stored, registered, and administered in the arsenal by two brothers. However, the food supplies had to be brought more frequently, so the two Loreto boats often crossed the gulf to get a thousand sacks of grain, meat, sugar, and dried goods as well as horses and other things needed immediately.

For the orderly maintenance of the little commonwealth some military help was provided by the king. At the beginning one soldier was stationed in every mission. After the uprising in the South in 1734, however, the soldiers were distributed according to the danger prevailing in the different mission districts. Father Jacob had five soldiers in 1752 when he took over Mission San Luis Gonzaga.

There is a feeling of sympathy which comes upon the reader as he goes through the pages wherein Baegert describes the life of the soldiers, sailors, cowherds, and trades people, and the few miners (not exceeding four hundred in number). For such men were, Catholic though they professed to be, without the great ideals which moved the religious, living in that desolate country with no prospect for gain whatsoever. They were adventurers of a sort, content with little for the lack of something better, and few of them remained over a long period of time. The pearl-fishing and mining operated on a small scale helped only one man to a fortune worth mentioning and left the rest in poverty and debt. The revolt in the South in 1734 and the death of Fathers Tamaral and Carranco and of two soldiers did not encourage the

Spanish officials to send new soldiers or to start a new conquest of this poor region, save after long delay; and it was disease, the agent of fate, more than the worldly authority of Spanish arms that imposed authority on the greatly reduced number of the Indians.

In a special chapter Father Baegert takes an opportunity to ask the Protestants six questions as to the lack of missionary spirit among the rank of their clergy.¹² But, interesting as this typically eighteenth century argument runs, it reveals one important conclusion, namely, Father Baegert was of his age. Standing in the midst of a controversy, he had to take part in it; for, seventeen years of work in loneliness and trouble had not taught him to stand on the sidelines while others spread ink in vain attacks upon this doubtlessly unique achievement of civilizing work among the savages for the glory of the Church and Christendom.

Baegert goes to the conclusion of his book. In the midst of their labor the Jesuits were crudely interrupted, and the sixteen Fathers who had to leave California were moved as puppets, subject to the wills of those who directed the destinies of Europe. The arrival of Don Gaspar Portolá in California, his mysterious behavior, and the final revelation of his mission are told in the next chapter. The story of the rendezvous of all the missionaries in Loreto, the last Mass held there on February 2, the distress of the helpless Indians, and the sorrow of the missionaries in leaving their neophytes and the country, are the vivid pictures that form the end of Baegert's account. A moving description of this last day reveals to us an unanticipated phenomenon: Father Baegert was sorry to leave this desert. Was it the power of habit only that made him cherish any love for the "worst country" of his Introduction, or was it the feeling of the loss of an occupation which had filled a good part of his lifetime? Whatever our interpretation may be, Father Jacob Baegert becomes very human in these last pages, a loving and hating, a living being.

A few words should be given to the two appendices of false

¹² The six points concerning the Protestant clergy: (1) If the apostles had remained sitting in their country and at home behind the stove as their preachers do, what would have been the fate of the world? (2) Does or does not the command of Christ "Travel into all the world and preach the Gospel to all creatures" (Mark, XVI) apply to themselves? (3) Matthew XXIV: "The Gospel will be preached in all the world to all peoples." Is not that sentence translated in Luther's Bible? (4) What does the following mean: *Qui non es mecum, contra me est, et qui non colligit mecum disperdit?* (5) The Bible says: *Bonum est communicativum sul.* . . . (6) The marriage of their clergy ought not to be a reason for them to stay at home.

information. The first contains the eight charges put before the Jesuits upon their return to Madrid, which may be of interest because they show the futility of the usual argumentation in the case of the California missions. It was charged:

- (1) "that the captain of the California Spanish militia and the soldiers under him are mere slaves of the Jesuits;
- (2) "that the Jesuits purposely sell provisions to the soldiers at a price higher than that set and ordered;
- (3) "that they make the Californians work very hard and give them nothing but cooked maize; [this would probably be a festive fare for the natives];
- (4) "that the mines at Santa Ana and San Antonio produce so little and are in such bad condition is their fault;
- (5) "that they have silver mines in their houses;
- (6) "that in no way are they willing to permit Spanish families to settle in California;
- (7) "that they carry on trade with the English;
- (8) "that they tell the Californians nothing about the Catholic king with the intention that these may not know their true overlord."

All these charges Father Jacob rejects one by one, and he ridicules those who ever attempted to doubt the simple truth of the honest work of the Jesuits. It must be recalled here, however, that the public of the time, especially in Europe, was filled with mistrust of the Order, and the secrecy which was kept concerning the expulsions, and the misinformation that leaked out only naturally kindled the curiosity of the European layman.¹³

In the second appendix Baegert attacks different authors who contributed in spreading false information, and again in detail the French translation of Burriel-Venegas in the fashion used before, repudiating each single sentence. Then he takes up the *Discurso de las enfermedades de la Compañía por el P. Juan de Mariana* (Madrid 1768),¹⁴ and last of all he refers to the confusion caused by the *Gazettier Ecclésiastique*, or Jansenist newspaper, written in Paris.¹⁵ After he advises the reader regarding the mistakes in these writings and thoroughly disillusioned him once more as to the concept of California as a rich land, he ends by advancing one remedy for the further boasting of such authors. "Let them be shipped to the court of Madrid," he proposes, "and be made Lord, or, if unmarried, first bishop of Cali-

¹³ H. H. Bancroft, *History of the North Mexican States and Texas*, San Francisco, 1884, I, 468.

¹⁴ See Mir, *Historia interna documentada de la Compañía de Jesús*, II.

¹⁵ See *Catholic Encyclopedia*, VIII, 285-293.

fornia. For I know that the poorest hidalgo in Spain cuts no smaller figure than the great Mogul of California will be able to make."

There is one last remark about the money question. "The truth is, that not a single one of my comrades nor I who have been in California were asked a word concerning money or other matters during the entire eight months of our stay in Madrid, before we were allowed to travel farther. We and others could have experienced nothing more desirable than this questioning, just as, on the contrary, nothing could have been more annoying to our opponents. This book will voice what has been kept silent."

For the reader of today, the *Nachrichten* brings to light many things that in time have become "silent," and aside from the service Father Baegert rendered to his order in publishing his report, his book is to us today a storehouse of data for the knowledge of Lower California history.

URSULA SCHAEFER

The First English-Speaking Parish in Illinois

The glamor of colonial times and struggles clings to the names of the old French parishes of Illinois, the Immaculate Conception at Kaskaskia, St. Joseph's at Prairie du Rocher, and the Holy Family at Cahokia. These foundations have loomed large in the history of the early development of the Illinois country. But the name of St. Patrick's Church at O'Hara Settlement, now Ruma in Randolph County, six miles southeast of Prairie du Rocher, has been almost completely overlooked. Yet this parish, whose first church was built in 1826, eight years after Illinois attained to statehood, was the first English-speaking parish in the state. As an item of the wider development it is worthy of some mention and consideration.

The first of the O'Haras to settle in this district was Henry, who with his wife, Bridget Bolton, brought their five children to Kaskaskia for baptism on May 1, 1780.¹ Father Pierre Gibault administered the sacrament to John, aged nine, Therese, aged seven, Marie and Bridget, four year old twins, and the youngest, Henrietta, about two years of age. Members of some of the prominent French families of Kaskaskia were among the group of godparents.

The next O'Hara to dwell in this district, of whom we have record, was Charles O'Hara. He was among those who in 1787

¹ Registre des Baptêmes dans l'église de l'Immaculée Conception aux Cascaskias, in St. Louis University Library, 163. The entry is as follows:

"On the first day of May in the year 1780, I, the undersigned missionary priest of the country of the Illinois, have baptized five children of the legitimate marriage of Henry O'Hara and Bridget Bolton, his wife, both Irish of the Roman Catholic Apostolic Faith, namely, the first, John, nine years old, whose godfather was Louis Buyat, and godmother Charlotte Levasseur; the second, whose name was Therese, seven years old, whose godfather was Nicolas Caillot Lachanse, and whose godmother was Marie Louise Bienvenu; the third has been called Marie, four years old; whose godfather was Francis Janis, and whose godmother was Hyacinth Alarie; the fourth Bridget, twin with Marie, and consequently four years of age, whose godfather was Rene Soumande, and whose godmother was Frances Janis. The fifth Henrietta by name, about two years of age, whose godfather was Noel Levasseur, and whose godmother was Frances Thaumur; of whom some have signed with their own name; others have declared they did not know how to sign."

(Signed)

Rene Soumande	Nicholas Lachanse	P. Gibault: Missionary Priest
Francis Janis	Marie Louise Bienvenu	Henry O'Hara
	Louis Buyat	

petitioned Bartholomew Tardiveau as their agent at Congress for obtaining grants of the land on which they had been living in Illinois.²

We have no information of the family of Henry O'Hara until 1794, when his son John, then a man twenty-three years old, was a witness of the marriage of Raphael Drury and Elizabeth MacNabb, both originally of Maryland. His signature appears below that of Father Gabriel Richard, the pastor at that time, in the marriage records of Kaskaskia.³ Archibald MacNabb, the father of the bride, was, like Charles O'Hara, among that group of petitioners of whom mention has just been made.⁴

A second Henry O'Hara came to Randolph County in 1817 from Maryland, having spent five years in Kentucky on the way.⁵ He was the sixth and youngest child of a Henry O'Hara, whose wife was of English ancestry.⁶ It is not impossible, and in fact, seems highly probable that the father of this second Henry O'Hara was the first O'Hara mentioned. The second Henry could very well have gone to Maryland for a while, leaving the older brother John to take care of the property in Randolph County.

During the next few years, many Catholic families, the Mudds, the Donahues, the Simpsons, the Fahertys, and others, came to swell the number of Catholic settlers near the O'Hara farm. These Mudds were the first members of that prominent Maryland family to settle in Illinois near the Mississippi. In fact, the river maps still carry the name of "Mudd's Landing" on the Mississippi.⁷

From the first, Mass was offered in the home of Henry O'Hara, by a priest, who came once a month from Kaskaskia. In this regular celebration of Mass at so early a date lies St. Patrick's claim to primacy as an English-speaking congregation in Illinois. The *Laity's Directory for 1822*, however, makes no mention of O'Hara's Settlement. It lists only three parishes in the state of Illinois, the French parishes of Kaskaskia, Cahokia,

² Clarence W. Alvord, ed., *Kaskaskia Records 1778-1790*, Volume V, Part II, of *Illinois Historical Collections*, Springfield, 1909, 444.

³ *Registre Des Mariages dans l'église de Notre Dame de l'Immaculée Conception aux Caskaskias*, in St. Louis University Library, entry for February 11, 1794.

⁴ See above, note 2.

⁵ W. R. Brink, publisher, *An Illustrated Historical Atlas of Randolph County, Illinois*, Illinois, 1876, 27.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 55.

⁷ L. J. Kenny, "A Grand Old Maryland Tree," in *Historical Records and Studies*, XXV, New York, 1936, 22-23.

and Prairie du Rocher.⁸ These appear among the churches of the Bardstown diocese.

In 1826, Henry O'Hara, now on his deathbed, bequeathed a tract of land for the erection of a church.⁹ St. Patrick's was built of logs, under the direction of Father John Timon, a young Vincentian priest from the Seminary at the Barrens in Missouri. Of this, C. J. Deuther, the biographer of that great priest, bears witness: "In 1826 the extent of the missions embraced a wider tract of country. . . . In the State of Illinois, Mr. Timon, who had already been raised to the priesthood in 1825, built churches in places known as O'Hara's and the English settlements."¹⁰

The English Settlement was at Prairie du Long, now known as Hecker, about fourteen miles north of Ruma, where twelve families from Lancashire, England, had settled in 1816. A third congregation in this district was formed at Harrissonville, where Mass was said at irregular intervals as early as 1818.¹¹ Each of these settlements, it might be noted, was at some distance from the river, in contrast to the French settlements, all of which were hard by the Father of Waters.

Father Timon's work in this district was short-lived. He continued to advance to more important positions, until finally in 1847 he became the first bishop of Buffalo.¹² On March 30, 1830, Bishop Rosati of St. Louis gave faculties to Father Regis Loisel to bless the church at the O'Hara's.¹³ The well-kept records of the parish, dating from January 31, 1831, show that Father Vital Paillaison was the pastor at the time.

The *Catholic Calendar* for 1834 gives official information that even at that date St. Patrick's was the only English-speaking Catholic Church at which Mass was regularly celebrated:

CHURCHES OF THE ST. LOUIS DIOCESE IN THE STATE OF ILLINOIS
Of the Conception in Kaskaskia.

St. Joseph's, Prairie du Rocher.

St. Patrick's at O'Hara's Settlement in Randolph County, six miles southeast of Prairie du Rocher, is served by Rev. V. Van Cloostere. Mass once each month.

Catholic Church at the English settlement. Mass occasionally.

⁸ *The Laity's Directory*, B. Belmore, New York, 1822, 112.

⁹ F. Beuckman, *History of the Belleville Diocese*, Belleville, 1919, Sect. 2, 25.

¹⁰ C. Deuther, *Life and Times of Rt. Rev. John Timon*, Buffalo, 1870, 37.

¹¹ Rothensteiner, *History of the Archdiocese of St. Louis*, St. Louis, 1928, I, 774.

¹² Deuther, 93.

¹³ Rothensteiner, *loc. cit.*

Catholic Church at Harrissonville. Mass occasionally.

At the Good Shepherd in Chokias (sic).

Catholic Church in Sangano county. Mass occasionally.

Catholic Church at the Fever River Cines (sic). Mass occasionally.¹⁴

The only others that had Mass regularly, besides St. Patrick's, were the three French parishes.

Inconspicuous in this group, but destined to have an interesting history was the congregation at the Fever River. Organized almost ten years after St. Patrick's, it had a resident pastor nearly a decade before the parish at O'Hara's. In 1827 six or seven thousand miners lived in this district in northwestern Illinois, most of them having arrived there during the preceding two years. The Irish were living around the principal settlement, Galena and the Creoles at a town called Gratiot Grove. Five Irish Catholics of Galena wrote to Bishop Rosati in that same year for a resident priest.¹⁵ Father Badin had but recently been at Galena, but the Irishmen wanted a priest who could speak English. It was sometime before their request could be fulfilled.

Father John Lutz came in 1830 and labored with tact and success in the mining district for about a year. In 1832 Father John McMahon, an Irishman, arrived in Galena. He had emigrated as a layman with his wife from Ireland about 1825. Having no children, they both decided to devote their lives to God, she in a convent and he as a priest. He was ordained during the year preceding his arrival at Galena. But he labored only ten months, for on June 19, 1833, he died of the cholera, without a priest to cheer and comfort his last hours.¹⁶

Another Irish priest, Father Charles Francis Fitzmaurice, who had arrived in America, came to Galena. But he also died of the cholera in the spring of 1835, within a year of his arrival.¹⁷ Finally, Father Samuel Mazzuchelli of the Dominican Order became pastor at Galena.

Thus Galena had four resident pastors before O'Hara's had its first, Father John Kenny, who was pastor from 1839 to 1842. Other early pastors were Rev. Patrick McCabe, 1842-50, Rev. James Keane, 1850-53. During the pastorate of Father Keane, the cornerstone for a new brick church at O'Hara's was laid, as the Diary of Bishop Van de Velde bears witness,

¹⁴ *Catholic Calendar*, 1834, 96.

¹⁵ Rothensteiner, *History*, I, 465.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 537-542.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 549-551.

June 24th, 1853. Rev. James Keane Pastor. Mass and confirmation of 40 persons at O'Hara's.

25th. After dinner returned to O'Hara's and laid the corner-stone of a new brick church, assisted by Rev. Messrs. Keane, Van Cloostere and Gallagher. Great concourse of people.¹⁸

The church was completed in 1854 while Father John Gifford was pastor.

St. Patrick's Parish has belonged to a surprisingly large number of dioceses. In 1834 the *Catholic Calendar* listed it in the diocese of St. Louis;¹⁹ the *Catholic Almanac* for the same year listed it in the diocese of Bardstown.²⁰ This discrepancy was due to the uncertain boundary line of the two dioceses; each controlled a part of Illinois. The St. Louis diocese embraced all the territory then held by the United States west of the Mississippi, except the state of Louisiana. East of the river, besides part of Illinois, it also had jurisdiction over the western part of Wisconsin. Today this territory includes thirteen states, and portions of three others, thirty dioceses and four archdioceses, and portions of five other dioceses and one archdiocese. The diocese of Bardstown included the states of Tennessee, Kentucky, Eastern Illinois, and Eastern Wisconsin. The boundary dispute settled, St. Patrick's was in the St. Louis diocese until 1844;²¹ the Chicago diocese until 1853;²² the Quincy diocese until 1857;²³ the Alton diocese until 1887;²⁴ and is at present in the diocese of Belleville.

St. Patrick's is today a small parish. Father Witte, the present pastor states that the school has only eleven children. Very many of the old families have moved away, chiefly to St. Louis and other large cities. The pioneer of Illinois, St. Patrick's has watched other parishes in her state grow from infancy to become great cathedral parishes. Her source of pride is the knowledge of the great work she has done to keep alive in this new land the ancient faith that her sons brought with them from across the sea.

In conclusion, then, St. Patrick's appears to be the first organized English-speaking Catholic congregation, although congrega-

¹⁸ "Diary of Bishop Van de Velde," in *Souvenir of the Jubilee of Bishop Feehan*, Chicago, 1891, 179.

¹⁹ *Catholic Calendar*, 96.

²⁰ *Catholic Almanac*, 59.

²¹ *Catholic Calendar*, 1844, 100, 109.

²² *Catholic Directory*, 1853, 111.

²³ *Catholic Directory*, 1857, 224.

²⁴ *Catholic Directory*, 1887, 155.

tions of a similar type were in the formation at about the same time at Harrisonville and Hecker. St. Patrick's was unquestionably the first congregation speaking English to have had Mass regularly. St. Patrick's was the first to have a church, and Galena was the first to have a resident English-speaking pastor.

W. B. FAHERTY

I. The Catholic Church on the Oklahoma Frontier

The term Indian Territory was once used to designate virtually the whole region west of the Mississippi which President Jefferson purchased from France in 1803. Gradually, by mid-century, the larger region was broken up, as states were admitted to the Union and territories organized, and the name Indian Territory dropped like a blanket on what is now the state of Oklahoma. The intention in the territorial policy was to make this narrow area the home of the Red Men of the plains. Even in the year of the purchase early negotiations were opened with the Cherokee in an effort to bring about their removal to the West.¹ Little was accomplished until 1817, when a portion of the tribe ceded its lands while the remainder held out against government pressure until removed by force in 1838.² A like policy was pursued toward the Creeks, Choctaw, Chickasaw and Seminoles,³ who by 1850 had concluded treaties with the federal government and had removed to the Indian Territory where they, like the Cherokee, were gradually adjusting themselves to the new order of things.

During the period of Indian removal the federal government had erected a number of military posts where considerable garrisons of troops were kept. Fort Smith on the Oklahoma border, Fort Gibson on the east bank of the Grand River, and Fort Towson on the Red River were unified by military roads laid out between outposts.⁴ At the outbreak of the Civil War the federal troops were withdrawn from these forts. Left without protection, the Indians for the most part made alliances with the Confederacy.⁵ At the close of the war the federal government used this relapse as an excuse for exacting new treaties, and among the terms imposed was that of giving up their surplus lands which

¹ Laurence F. Schmeckebier, *The Office of Indian Affairs*, Baltimore, 1927, 289.

² Bureau of American Ethnology, *Nineteenth Annual Report*, 1898, Washington, 1900, 2 Parts, I, 130.

³ Frederick Webb Hodge, ed., *Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico*. Bureau of American Ethnology, Parts I and II, Washington, 1907.

⁴ Charles N. Gould, *Oklahoma Place Names*, Norman, Oklahoma, 1933, 144-145.

⁵ Joseph Thoburn, *A Standard History of Oklahoma*, 5 Vols., Chicago, 1916, II, 269.

were to become homes for the Plains Indians.⁶ The first Indians to be removed were the Kiowa, Comanche, and Apache,⁷ who lived a wandering life on the plains, depending largely upon hunting for food, shelter, and clothing. Beginning in 1866 with these tribes, the government had by 1884, with the removal of the Tonkawa, located twenty-two separate Indian reservations in the Territory on which each tribe was allowed its particular form of government.⁸

This region then, with its thousands of Indians, few white inhabitants at the army posts, soldiers eking out a monotonous and lonely existence in military forts, and liberated Negro slaves, represented the setting where active Catholic missionary work began in the third quarter of the nineteenth century. The soil of Oklahoma, it seems, had been trodden by Catholic missionaries long years before. Priests were with the De Soto expedition in the sixteenth century, which probably traversed what is now Oklahoma.⁹ From these the few scattered tribes may have heard for the first time the simple truths of faith.¹⁰ Another sixteenth century Spanish expedition led by Coronado brought with it the famed Fray Padilla, who was slain by the Indians in Texas according to some authorities and in Kansas according to others. Possibly he reached or passed through Oklahoma. It is fairly certain that Abbé Jean Cavelier, brother of Robert Cavelier, Sieur de la Salle, passed through the land with another priest,

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ Reverend Aloysius Hitta, O. S. B., "Geronimo's Horses Are Branded," *The Indian Sentinel*, XVI (February, 1936), 32. This is an interesting and true story of the death bed conversion of Geronimo, the Apache chief, by Father Isidore Ricklin, O. S. B. The chief was captured by General Nelson A. Miles and placed in prison at Fort Sill, Indian Territory.

⁸ Material, indispensable to anyone writing the history of the Potawatomi before their removal to the Indian Territory, is to be found in Father John F. O'Connor, S. J., *The Jesuits in the Kaw Valley, Ms., St. Mary's, Kansas*. For the Osage, the manuscript collection of Father Paul Ponzi-gione, S. J., in the St. Louis University Archives, is a monumental collection of early Osage history.

⁹ *The Narrative of the Expedition of Hernando de Soto by the Gentleman of Elvas*. Published for the first time in 1557. A critically annotated edition by Theodore Lewis is to be found in his *Spanish Exploration in the Southern United States*, New York, 1920, 217.

¹⁰ Bernard Shipp, *The History of Hernando de Soto and Florida, or Records of the Events of Fifty-Six Years from 1512-1568*, Philadelphia, 1881, 245. An interesting discussion, "Some Neglected Aspects of the De Soto Expedition," by Francis Borgia Steck will be found in *MID-AMERICA*, XV (July, 1932), 4. That some of the sixteenth century Spanish explorers ever crossed into Kansas and Oklahoma has recently been questioned. See "The Route of the Coronado Expedition in Texas," by David Donoghue, *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, XXXII (January, 1929), 181-192, also "Coronado, Oñate and Quivira," by the same author, *MID-AMERICA*, XVIII (April, 1936), 95.

Father Douay, on their way from Matagorda Bay to the Illinois Country, after the assassination of La Salle. But the attempted evangelization by Padilla and the trips of the others were not followed up.

In the nineteenth century, with the advent of French traders from the North and from the South, missionaries from Kansas and Missouri ventured into the Territory. Under the administration of Bishop Du Bourg, a Vincentian seminary was established at Barrens, now Perryville, Missouri, and from here as early as 1824 Reverend John Odin and his companion, a cleric, intended to visit the Territory while on a missionary trip to Arkansas,¹¹ but they were unable to complete their itinerary.

Meanwhile, the Jesuits had made a foundation at Florissant, and later established a mission at St. Paul, Kansas, that became in time the center of a fruitful apostolate in Indian Territory.¹² In 1830, Father Van Quickenborne, S. J., established mission stations on Chouteau, Prior, and Cabin Creeks. From that date the Jesuits continued to visit the army posts and Indian reserves, and between 1830-1886 they established sixteen missionary stations in various parts of the Territory. In addition to Father Van Quickenborne, Father Bax, and Father Van Hulst, there was Father Paul Ponziglione, who traversed practically every portion of Indian Territory, in order to give the few scattered Catholics an opportunity of hearing Mass and receiving the sacraments.¹³

Not only were the Jesuits from Kansas ministering to the spiritual needs of the Catholics in the Territory, but the diocesan priests from Arkansas were making frequent and lengthy trips in that direction.¹⁴ For the history of the Catholic Church in Indian Territory, this is a record that has been completely overlooked, but the fact remains that as early as 1849 Father Walsh and Father Monaghan made five different trips to the Territory, and on each occasion baptisms and marriages were recorded. These trips continued regularly up to the time of the Civil War, and each year records attest to the extensiveness of their journeys, and the fruits of their labor.¹⁵ Forts Gibson, Washita, Arbuckle, the Indian reservations, and isolated family groups were

¹¹ Rosati Diary, Ms., Vincentian Monastery, Perryville, Missouri.

¹² Western Missions Journal, Ms. Collection of Father Ponziglione, S. J., St. Louis University Archives.

¹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴ Register of Marriages for Fort Smith (Arkansas) and Missions attached Thereto 1844-1897, Ms. records in St. Patrick's Church, Fort Smith, Arkansas.

¹⁵ Registerum Baptism (sic) 1857-1900. Fathers Lawrence and Michael Smyth, Ms., Records, Fort Smith, Arkansas.

each visited one or more times in the course of the year. In the decade before the outbreak of the Civil War, Father Walsh and Father Monaghan were joined in their work in the Territory by Fathers Shanahan, Reilly and Smyth.¹⁶ The record of the five priests who traveled from Fort Smith to the most distant of the frontier posts on horseback or in a buggy, and their records of baptisms, marriages, and burials, helps in no small way to dispel the erroneous idea that Catholic missionary work in Oklahoma began only in the late seventies.

The coming of the Benedictines to the Oklahoma frontier has an interesting old world background. In the diocese of Sens, France, is the monastery of Pierre-qui-Vire, the motherhouse of the Benedictine monks of the primitive observance.¹⁷ Among those who had been attracted by the sanctity and learning of the monastery was Father Isidore Robot, who from the time of his ordination in 1862 had expressed a desire to work in the mission field. The anti-Catholic attitude shown by Gambetta and the republican party in France resulted in many monastic orders seeking foundations in other countries where their members might go in event of persecution and exile.¹⁸ To this end Father Robot and Brother Dominic Lambert were sent to the United States with instructions to find a suitable missionary field for the Benedictine Fathers of Pierre-qui-Vire.

Father Robot was welcomed by Archbishop Perché of New Orleans, assigned to Bayou Pierre, and later appointed as chaplain to the Sisters of Charity in Shreveport.¹⁹ Father Robot, however, had not come to the United States to be director or confessor of nuns, but to be a missionary. While in this capacity he learned through Father Gaillard, S. J., of St. Mary's Mission, Kansas, the plight of the Indians in the Territory, who since their removal were without a resident priest or Catholic teachers.²⁰

Relieved of his duties as chaplain, Father Robot called on

¹⁶ Father Michael Smyth has the distinction of building in 1874 at Atoka, Indian Territory, St. Patrick's Church, the first Catholic Church within the present state of Oklahoma.

¹⁷ Right Reverend Dom Isidore Robot, O. S. B., *The Life of the Reverend Mary John Baptist Muard, Founder of the Missionary Priests of the Benedictine Preachers of the Monastery of Saint Mary of Pierre-qui-Vire*. Translated from the French of the Abbé Brulée, New York, 1882, 1-75.

¹⁸ *Les Benedictins de Sainte Marie de la Pierre-qui-Vire* (Diocese de Sens). Pamphlet printed at the monastere de la Pierre-qui-Vire, 1877.

¹⁹ *Annals of Sacred Heart Mission, 1876-1907*. Cahier containing eighty-four handwritten pages, Ms., Sacred Heart Priory, Sacred Heart, Oklahoma. Hereafter referred to as *Annals*.

²⁰ Joseph Moose, "Catholicity Among the Potawatomie," *Indian Advocate*, II (April, 1889), 3.

Bishop Edward Fitzgerald of Little Rock, of whose diocese the Indian Territory was the western part. He explained his mission to the Bishop, who must have been impressed by the earnestness of the religious, for he was given jurisdiction over the whole Indian Territory and the assurance of every financial aid the Bishop was able to give.²¹ With these arrangements completed, Father Robot and Brother Dominic left Little Rock and arrived at Atoka, Indian Territory, on October 12, 1875. Here they found a few Catholics among the shopkeepers and railroad workers, and a small, unfinished church that had been built some three years earlier.

Nine months after their arrival Pope Pius IX issued two decrees, one erecting the Prefecture Apostolic (separated from the Diocese of Little Rock), and the other appointing Father Robot first Prefect Apostolic, under date of July 9, 1876.²² During this time Father Robot was considering the request of several Indian tribes that he establish a mission on their reservation. The Indians were poor and could offer no financial assistance, the few white Catholics were existing on a mere subsistence level, and he knew the impossibility of obtaining money from Pierre-qui-Vire.²³

It chanced that the decrees of erection and appointment of the Prefecture Apostolic were printed in *Les Missions Catholiques*, a copy of which was read by Mr. James McMaster, the editor of the New York *Freeman's Journal*. Mr. McMaster was not impressed by the action of the Holy Father, but in a caustic article stated that although he did not offer any congratulations, he would like to know from such a good authority as Father Robot what reason there was for the development of the Catholic Church in such wastes as those of New Mexico and Indian Territory.²⁴ The invitation to enlighten the inquiring editor was accepted by Father Robot, and for the next three or four years the columns of the *Freeman's Journal* contained the correspondence of the zealous Benedictine. A report from Father Robot to his abbot at Pierre-qui-Vire, a part of which was published in

²¹ Father Robot, O. S. B., to Msgr. Brouillet, Atoka, Indian Territory, April 26, 1876, Ms., Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions, Washington, D. C. Hereafter referred to as B. C. I. M.

²² These decrees may be found in *Acta Sanctae Sedes*, Rome, 1885, IX, 425-426.

²³ Father Robot to Madam Marie Elizabeth Rea, Atoka Indian Territory, December 17, 1875, Ms., B. C. I. M.

²⁴ Editorial, "Apostolic Appointment for the Indian Territory," *Freeman's Journal*, New York, XXXVII (August 19, 1876), 4.

Les Missions Catholiques, inspired Mr. McMaster to organize "A Plan for Helping the Indians."²⁵ Appeals for funds and prayers were made, and within a year almost six thousand dollars were sent to Father Robot. The incidents connected with the campaign, the letters received from donors, the editorials pleading the cause of the Prefect Apostolic, and the journalistic fireworks that grew out of the resentment shown by the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions toward the activity of Mr. McMaster, are a few of the incidents that give color to the first year of the Prefecture.

After studying the different proposals for a mission, Father Robot decided upon the Potawatomie Reservation, at a place about seventy miles from Atoka.²⁶ While completing the plans for their future work, the two Benedictines were joined by Bernard Murphy and Joseph Shea, who alone survived the yellow fever epidemic that wiped out their community at Savannah, Georgia.²⁷

Work on the monastery was started during February, 1877, and despite many obstacles the building was completed in late summer. In April, five recruits, including two priests from Pierre-qui-Vire, joined the little community.²⁸ In June, by decree of the Propaganda, a novitiate was established; a day school for Indian children was opened in September, and here in the wild solitude peopled only by Indians, far from all civilization and from all communication, at times almost destitute of resources, Father Robot and his little community prayed with zeal and confidence in what they called their Promised Land.

Two appointments came to Father Robot in 1878.²⁹ The first was the decree of the new Pontiff, Leo XIII, raising him to the dignity of an abbot (titular), and the second was the announcement by the government that a post office would be established on the mission property. Father Robot was named first postmaster.³⁰ During this year the first annual retreat was held, the exercises conducted by Father Robot, and the ranks of the little community were increased during December by the lay-brother

²⁵ "The Prefecture Apostolic of the Indian Territory—the Very Reverend Dom Isidore Robot," *Ibid.*, (October 14, 1876), 4.

²⁶ *Annals*, October, 1876.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, February, 1877.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, April, 1877.

²⁹ Published in *Les Missions Catholiques*, Lyons, France, November 22, 1878.

³⁰ From records compiled by Grant Foreman and published in the *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, VI (March, 1928), 3.

John Laracy, of Paterson, New Jersey, a lovable, interesting character who is living today, the oldest member of the community.³¹

With a successful boys' day school in operation Father Robot decided to build a school for girls and place it under the care of a community of sisters. St. Mary's was completed in 1880, and in August of that year six Sisters of Perpetual Adoration arrived from New Orleans. They continued in charge of the school until 1884, when they were replaced by the Sisters of Mercy, in whose care the school has since remained.³²

The hardships and privations that were necessarily a part of the foundation of Sacred Heart were sapping the strength of a constitution never robust. In 1884 after assisting at the Third Plenary Council at Baltimore,³³ Father Robot, accompanied by Brother Dominic, left for Rome to lay before the Holy Father an account of the church in the Prefecture, and to present his resignation.³⁴ It was almost a year before his successor was appointed. When relieved of his duties by the arrival of Father Ignatius Jean in October, 1886, Father Robot took charge of the parish at McAlester, where he died in February, 1887.³⁵

Under his successor a program of missionary expansion was carried out. In his first report Father Ignatius Jean expressed the conviction that more fruitful results could be attained if there were three centers of Catholic activity from which the priests could carry on their work, as the trips to and from Sacred Heart were long, difficult, and expensive.³⁶ Thus it was that St. Louis Mission at Pawhuska was established in the northern part of the Territory, St. Michael's in the East, and to the pastor at Krebs were given McAlester, Savannah, and the tribes located between Fort Sill and El Reno.³⁷

In order to bring the needs of the Indians to the attention of the Catholics, and to secure vocations in the work where assistance was so greatly needed, the Fathers in 1888 began the pub-

³¹ Reminiscences and Memoirs of Brother John Laracy, Ms., Sacred Heart Archives, Sacred Heart, Oklahoma.

³² Community Records. Sisters of the Most Holy Sacrament, Ms., New Orleans, Louisiana.

³³ *The Memorial Volume. A History of the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore, November 9-December 7, 1884*, Baltimore, 1885, 106.

³⁴ *Annals*, June, 1884.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, February, 1887.

³⁶ Reverend Ignatius Jean to Reverend D. Balsieper, Sacred Heart Indian Territory, October 14, 1887. Published in the *Indian Advocate*, I (January, 1888), 4.

³⁷ *Annals*, April, 1887.

lication of the *Indian Advocate*. It first appeared quarterly and later monthly. It continued to be issued until 1910, and is one of the richest printed sources of Oklahoma church history during that time.³⁸

The opening of the lands to white settlements in 1889 created a situation unique in the annals of growth and development. Thousands of persons poured across the border and new towns sprang into existence over night. It was the epic story of the Cimarron. The Benedictines met the demands for priests as best they could, but although their ranks had been augmented by ordinations and recruits from France, the numbers were insufficient to meet the needs of this tremendous increase.

Among the towns where churches were built within a few months after the opening were Oklahoma City, Edmond, Guthrie, El Reno, and Norman. In this same year the Benedictines, Father Placidus and Father Willebrand, came to the Territory from eastern Bengal, and later were joined by Father Lanslots, who had been stationed at the same place.³⁹ In 1890, Father Isidore Ricklin arrived from Buckfast, England,⁴⁰ and Father Gerrer, whose fame as an artist has become international, began his novitiate at Sacred Heart.

In 1896 Sacred Heart was raised to the rank of an Abbey, and Father Thomas Duperou was consecrated amid the solemn and impressive ceremonies.⁴¹ He was in office only one year when taken by death, and the choice of the community was Father Felix de Grasse, a lineal descendant of Admiral de Grasse, who assisted the American colonies in the Revolutionary War.⁴²

During the next five years new churches were erected and dedicated, and new schools were opened in the parishes. Sacred Heart completed the building of her abbatial church, the largest and most beautiful edifice in the Territory. On the night of Jan-

³⁸ *Indian Advocate*, Sacred Heart, Oklahoma, 1888-1910. The files of this publication, the first Catholic paper in the Territory, are rich in the early history of the Church. Only two complete files are known to exist. One is to be found at Sacred Heart Priory, Sacred Heart, Oklahoma, and the other in the private collection of Reverend Urban de Hasque, Perry, Oklahoma. At the Smithsonian Institute, Washington, D. C., volumes 6-22 (1894-1910) may be found.

³⁹ *Annals*, November, 1889.

⁴⁰ *Annals*, December, 1890. When the monastery of Pierre-qui-Vire was confiscated by the French government some of the Benedictine Fathers had gone to Ireland, and thence in 1882 to Buckfast, England, where they had rebuilt the ancient Abbey that had been suppressed by Henry VIII in 1539.

⁴¹ *Indian Advocate*, X (January, 1898), 195.

⁴² *Annals*, February, 1898.

uary 15, 1901, a fire broke out in the Abbey.⁴³ Nothing could stop the flames and in a short time every vestige of Sacred Heart Mission had been destroyed. This included the monastery, Sacred Heart Church, the pride of the priests and people, St. Mary's Academy and Novitiate, and all the shops, mills, and stables forming the mission property. The Fathers were determined to rebuild Sacred Heart, and through the generosity of friends in the East, a new building far less pretentious than the first was blessed in January, 1902. Visitations, ordinations, deaths, and new recruits characterize the next few years at Sacred Heart. In 1905, after a lingering illness, Father de Grasse passed to his reward, and Father Bernard Murphy was chosen to succeed him.⁴⁴ He has the distinction of being the first American abbot at Sacred Heart.

By a decree dated August 27, 1905, the Holy Father changed the vicariate to a diocese, and designated Monsignor Meerschaert its first bishop.⁴⁵ Since 1891 the ranks of the clergy had been greatly increased by growth of the secular clergy. Gradually the Benedictine Fathers were removed from the parishes, so that by 1907 they were in charge of only four.⁴⁶ Only three decades had elapsed since they had come to the Territory. During these years Sacred Heart Monastery had been built, forty-one churches and chapels erected, and throughout the Territory the Fathers had brought the faith to the Indian tribes and scattered white settlements as frequently as their time and numbers would permit.

It was under the administration of the Second Prefect Apostolic that definite growth and development was made in the matter of education, and to Mather Katherine Drexel the Church is deeply indebted. For without the financial assistance that she so generously gave, the erection and maintenance of the Indian schools would have been impossible. It might be added that this help continues in some cases even to the present time.⁴⁷

In addition to the three schools that were begun while Father

⁴³ *Ibid.*, January, 1901.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, February, 1905. Father Bernard Murphy was one of the first co-laborers to join Father Robot in the Indian Territory. Accompanied by Joseph Shea, he arrived at Atoka, Indian Territory, from Savannah, Georgia, February 2, 1877.

⁴⁵ The Private Diary of Bishop Meerschaert, August 27, 1905. These priceless manuscripts are to be found in the diocesan chancery files, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

⁴⁶ Ms. copy of correspondence relative to these parishes is to be found in the Archives of St. Gregory's Abbey, Shawnee, Oklahoma.

⁴⁷ Churches and Schools Erected by Mother Katherine Drexel in Oklahoma, Ms., in the files of the Sisters of the Blessed Sacrament, St. Elizabeth's Convent, Cornwells Heights, Pennsylvania.

Robot was Prefect Apostolic, plans were made in 1887 for an industrial mission school at Lehigh, under the title of St. Michael. But the scheme was from the beginning doomed to failure.⁴⁸ When it was seen that St. Michael's would not materialize as an industrial school, the Fathers opened a day school in Lehigh, in 1887, under the direction of the Sisters of Mercy. The school soon had an enrollment of more than a hundred and fifty pupils, and has continued in successful operation up to the present time.

The first attempt to change the status of St. Mary's Academy and Sacred Heart School was made in 1886, when Father Thomas applied for government contracts for the two schools.⁴⁹ In the course of the following year the Indian agent, Moses Neal, visited the schools and in his annual report strongly supported the request of the missionaries. The first contract was awarded June 13, 1888, and provided a compensation of \$29.87 per quarter for children of the Osage, Sac, and Fox tribes. Besides those provided for by government contract, many children from the Pottawatomie families living near by, children from the Chickasaw and Seminole tribes, and the sons and daughters of the cattlemen and the military officials living at the forts, enrolled in the two mission schools.⁵⁰

The course of study was similar to most industrial schools, and was the same in all the schools under the supervision of the Benedictine Fathers. Practical subjects such as sewing, cooking, mending, the fundamentals of health and cleanliness, as well as art, needlework, and music were included in the course for girls, while farming, stock raising, and practical work in the mills and fields were taught the boys. Due to the extensive improvements made, the value of the two schools in 1893 was placed by the Indian agent at one hundred thousand dollars.⁵¹

The schools suffered a temporary setback in 1895, when the government was forced to withdraw government aid from all denominational schools, but the Bureau of Catholic Indian Mis-

⁴⁸ Annals, December, 1887.

⁴⁹ Father Thomas Duperou to Moses Neal, Indian Agent, August 1, 1886. *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, Washington, 1886, 146.

⁵⁰ Dom M. Norbert, O. S. B., to the Abbot of Pierre-qui-Vire. Published in *Les Missions Catholiques*, September 16, 1886.

⁵¹ Samuel L. Patrick, Indian Agent, Sac and Fox Agency, to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, August 30, 1893. *Sixty-Second Annual Report*, 1893, 350.

sions came to the rescue of the Indians, and gave a contract for forty pupils for each school.

When the schools were destroyed by fire in January, 1901, the boys were sent home and the girls to Shawnee, Krebs, and Ardmore, where the Sisters of Mercy had parochial schools. St. Mary's was rebuilt that year, a larger and more up-to-date building, and in a higher and more desirable location.⁵² The boys' school was in time reopened, but was discontinued when the Fathers built St. Gregory College at Shawnee. The girls' school continues to the present time and is one of the most successful Indian schools in operation.

After seventeen years of fruitless efforts, the Osage Indians, in 1887, succeeded in obtaining from the government the permission necessary for a Catholic mission school.⁵³ Father Felix de Grasse was sent to Pawhuske in January, 1887.⁵⁴ With the co-operation of Father Willard of the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions, a building was erected on a lot adjoining the house that served as a rectory. A small house was built as a convent for the Sisters of the Third Order of St. Francis, under whose care the school was to be placed. The school opened in November.⁵⁵ By January the twenty-pupil contract allowed by the government was far too small, and the next year it was raised to fifty. In 1889, a large building was purchased, furnished, and opened to seventy-five boarders and eighteen day pupils.⁵⁶

On the night of February 14, 1889, a fire of unknown origin broke out and destroyed every vestige of the building and its contents. Owing to the courage and quick action of the Sisters, every child was marched in safety from the building.⁵⁷ The Osage Council adopted a resolution of sympathy, and plans were drawn up for a new building. Mother Katherine Drexel promised financial assistance, and a substantial stone structure four stories high was built less than a mile from the Osage Agency.⁵⁸ St. Louis Mission has since remained a flourishing Indian school, and

⁵² *Annals*, January, 1902.

⁵³ A. B. Upshaw, Acting Commissioner of Indian Affairs, to James I. David, U. S. Indian Agent. Washington, September 23, 1886. Osage Files, Pawhuska, Oklahoma.

⁵⁴ Father Felix de Grasse to Reverend Dom Stephan, Abbot of Pierrequi-Vire, Pawhuska, Indian Territory, January 4, 1889. Published in the *Indian Advocate*, II (April, 1889), 4.

⁵⁵ *Indian Advocate* (Prospectus), 1888, 4.

⁵⁶ School Records, St. Louis School, 1887-1907, Pawhuska, Oklahoma.

⁵⁷ "The Sisters deserve much credit for their heroism," *The Indian Citizen*, Atoka, Indian Territory, March 16, 1889.

⁵⁸ Ms. Files of St. Elizabeth's Convent, Cornwells Heights, Pennsylvania.

because the Osage Indians are independent financially, the school has enjoyed consistent support.

The fourth school to be established during the Prefecture of Father Ignatius Jean was St. John's, for Osage boys, located on Hominy Creek, some fifteen miles from Pawhuska.⁵⁹ Twenty-one full-blood Osage boys were enrolled the first year. The increased enrollment warranted the erection of a new four-story stone building in 1891. The entire expense was defrayed by Mother Katherine Drexel. In addition, a chaplain's college, bakery, blacksmith shop, the Sisters' convent, and a cottage for the help completed the mission. In 1892, the government gave a contract for sixty-five boys, and at the time of statehood the attendance was around that number.

Ten Sisters of the Third Order of St. Francis, with Sister Mary Paul as superior, continued in charge of St. John's until 1907, when the management of the school was transferred to the Brothers of the Christian Schools.⁶⁰

Father Isidore pitched his tent among the Indians, and traveled from tent to tent "teaching them the knowledge of a living God and winning their affection and confidence by his constant care." It was his pleasure to gather the children about him and teach them catechism, to read and write, and to sing simple songs. The Indians became so attached to the Benedictine that they adopted him into their tribe and named him Chief Thunderbolt.⁶¹

The first buildings for St. Patrick's Mission were completed in 1892. To assist the Indian parents, Mother Katherine Drexel paid six dollars and a quarter monthly for each Indian child enrolled at the mission.⁶² In 1893, because the frame buildings were far too small for the increasing enrollment, they were, with the assistance of Mother Katherine Drexel, replaced by a substantial stone building. To the school building was added a boys' dormitory, a girls' dormitory, a laundry, and a building occupied by the Sisters. In 1903, seventy-seven Indian children were being cared for from funds supplied by Mother Katherine, who likewise paid the salary of the teachers and provided compensation for the resident priest.⁶³ Shortly after the time of statehood, the

⁵⁹ Act of June 28, 1906 (34 Stat. L., p. 539), Division of Osage Lands and Funds, 3.

⁶⁰ *The Indian Sentinel*, 1910, 9.

⁶¹ Rev. A. Hitta, O. S. B., "Anadarko Boarding School," *The Oklahoma Indian School Magazine*, I (December, 1932), 2.

⁶² *Community Records*, Convent of the Blessed Sacrament, *ut. cit.*

⁶³ Mother Katherine Drexel to Sister Amelina, February 12, 1903, Ms.,

mission was burned. But it was rebuilt larger than before, was leased by the government, with the Sisters retained as instructors with government supervision and salaries, and was finally returned to the Benedictine Fathers. It remains today in successful operation.

When the Rock Island Railroad extended its line across Oklahoma from the Kansas border the little town of Chickasha was built. In 1899, in order to impress the people with the type of training the children at Anadarko were getting from the Sisters, Father Ricklin had the closing program repeated in Chickasha. It was given in the public school house and the little Indians demonstrated their training to a degree scarcely hoped for by their teachers, and as a result Father Ricklin was urged to open a school.⁶⁴ A two-story school building was purchased from the school board, remodeled and improved. The Sisters of St. Francis were given charge, and opened with an enrollment of one hundred day pupils and twelve boarders. In the entire enrollment there was only one Catholic child.⁶⁵

By 1902 many new improvements had been made and the records show seventy-four white boys, eight Indian boys, seventy-nine white girls, and five Indian girls. In a short time the government made provision for eighty resident Choctaw and Chickasaw children.⁶⁶ Recently the original buildings have been replaced by more pretentious brick structures, so that St. Joseph's is one of the most attractive school buildings in Chickasha.

Among the other schools established for the Indian children was St. Mary's on the Quapaw Reservation for the use of the Ottawa, Wyandotte, Miami, Peoria, and Quapaw Indians.⁶⁷ It was first opened in 1891 as a day school, conducted by a Catholic lay teacher, but in 1894 it was given to the charge of the Sisters of St. Joseph. It continued to obtain government contracts until 1907.⁶⁸

For the benefit of the Choctaw tribe St. Agnes Mission was

Convent of the Blessed Sacrament; Mother Katherine Drexel to Father Isidore Ricklin, August 31, 1902, *ibid.*

⁶⁴ Sister Mary Barbara, O. S. F., *A Diamond Crown for Christ the King. A Story of the First Franciscan Foundation in Our Country 1855-1930*, Glen Riddle, Pennsylvania, 1930, 259.

⁶⁵ Community Records, Ms., Sisters of St. Francis, St. Joseph Convent, Chickasha, Oklahoma.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

⁶⁷ Father William Ketcham to George S. Doane, U. S. Indian Agent, Muskogee, Indian Territory, July 25, 1894. *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1894.

⁶⁸ "Contracts for Mission Schools." *Annual Report of the Department of the Interior*, 1906, 51.

built at Antlers in Pasmataha County. It was originally a "neighborhood school" with an enrollment almost wholly of full-bloods.⁶⁹ Through the kindness of Mother Katherine Drexel a substantial building was erected, and the Sisters were employed by the Choctaw government and the work supervised by a Choctaw official.⁷⁰ At the time of statehood sixty Choctaw and seventy-four white children were enrolled.

St. Agnes Academy at Ardmore has the distinction of being the first school in that place. It was begun with money furnished by Mother Katherine, and, more than any other of the mission schools, suffered from the prejudice and bigotry of the early century.⁷¹ Only through the unfailing patience and charity of the Sisters of Mercy was the school able to exist. It remains in operation today, a successful school for Indians and whites.

St. Elizabeth Mission at Purcell grew out of the plan of Father Ignatius Jean to establish three centers of Catholic life, north, east, and west.⁷² It served the tribes located between Fort Sill and Fort Reno. Under the supervision of Father Vincent Joly, O. S. B., the Sisters of St. Francis opened school in November, 1888, and by the close of the year their enrollment consisted of one hundred and ten girls and fifty-seven boys.

Two additional schools were established prior to statehood. These were St. Theresa School at Tulsa, for which Mother Katherine donated fifteen hundred dollars on the condition that when it ceased to be an Indian school the money would be returned to her.⁷³ In 1899, sixty-five pupils were in attendance and the enrollment increased rapidly thereafter. Today it has been replaced by the spacious Holy Family School, under the care of the Sisters of Divine Providence, with hundreds of children in attendance.

The last school intended for both Indian and white children was Nazareth Institute at Muskogee. It was erected under the pastorate of Father William Ketcham and given to the charge of the Sisters of St. Joseph, a diocesan group, whose motherhouse was located at Antlers. They were later replaced by the Sisters of St. Joseph from Carondelet, Missouri, in whose care the school is today.

The educational needs of the Negro children were not neg-

⁶⁹ *The Indian Sentinel*, 1914, 19.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 20.

⁷¹ *The Indian Sentinel*, 1915, 22.

⁷² Reverend Ignatius Jean to Reverend D. Balsieper, October 14, 1887.

⁷³ Ms. Files of the Sisters of the Blessed Sacrament.

lected. The Negroes prior to 1889 were for the most part freed-men, but after the run of 1889 their number was greatly increased. Train-loads were brought in from the South and among them were many Catholics. One school previous to 1889 had been established by Brother John, from Sacred Heart.⁷⁴ Claver School was located in the Canadian settlement, and continued to be conducted until 1896, when the Negroes, who were squatters, were forced to move elsewhere.⁷⁵

In 1893 the Benedictine Sisters opened St. Catherine's Day School in Guthrie, and two years later Holy Family School⁷⁶ at Langston. Each school from the opening day had a large enrollment. These schools continued under the supervision of the same religious until 1924. Two flourishing Catholic Negro schools are located at Tulsa and Okmulgee, while very recently the Benedictine Sisters have opened Claver College in Guthrie, which offers in addition to the college subjects opportunities for the study of music, art, and business administration. The students are for the most part teachers and college students who have not had the occasion to complete their college course.

In the educational scheme in the Territory, the parochial schools for white children were the first to be established. Between 1880 and 1907 thirty-four had been opened and were in charge of the Sisters of Mercy, Benedictines, Sisters of Divine Providence, and the Sisters of the Precious Blood. The enrollment was little less than four thousand.

The Church on the Oklahoma frontier entered a period of definite expansion with the appointment of Monsignor Meerschaert as Vicar Apostolic in 1891. Upon his arrival in Guthrie, he found twenty-three priests⁷⁷ attending as best they could the vast Territory comprising almost seventy thousand square miles. At that date there were twenty-one churches and chapels and a Catholic population of about five thousand souls.

Two weeks after his arrival, the Bishop set out to visit every part of the vicariate, traveling great distances partly by rail, but most of the time in a buggy.⁷⁸ The first official visit was Sacred Heart Abbey.⁷⁹ Accompanied by two of the Benedictine Fa-

⁷⁴ Reminiscences and Memoirs of Brother John Laracy, Ms.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

⁷⁶ "Langston and Oklahoma," *The Little Star of the Black Belt*, Lynchburg, Virginia, I (September, 1902), 2.

⁷⁷ *Sadler's Catholic Directory*, 1891, 499.

⁷⁸ Private Diary of Bishop Meerschaert, October 4, 1891.

⁷⁹ *Annals*, October, 1891. On this occasion he blessed the cornerstone of the new Sacred Heart Church.

thers, he visited in the course of weeks practically every established mission school and church.⁸⁰

But the crying need of the Church was priests. With the constant stream of white settlers pouring into the rich lands opened to settlement since 1889, little parishes were already in the making. In order that he might secure additions to the ranks of the clergy, Bishop Meerschaert made several trips to Europe and was successful in securing many young priests. Up to 1907, the American College at Louvain, Belgium, had sent almost three score to the Territory.

In 1907, when the Twin Territories were united to form the forty-sixth state, the secular clergy numbered fifty-one members. Assisting these were thirty-one Benedictines. By this date Bishop Meerschaert had conducted the dedication ceremonies of sixty-eight churches and had blessed new brick structures that had replaced nine of these. To the other institutions, whether Indian Mission, parochial school, academy, or hospital, the Bishop gave his generous support.

The rapid growth of the Catholic Church in Oklahoma had its initial impetus in the zealous work of those early pioneers who labored so faithfully during the frontier days.

SISTER URSULA THOMAS, O. S. B.

⁸⁰ Diary of Bishop Meerschaert, October-November, 1891.

II. The Catholic Church on the Oklahoma Frontier; A Critical Bibliography

Since the passing of the American Frontier, historians have begun to study and evaluate the religious, social, and intellectual part played by churchmen in the development of the West in the nineteenth century. Oklahoma, the region described in the preceding article, has not been accorded adequate historical treatment from the viewpoint of its religious development. It is the purpose of the following bibliography to reveal extensive and hitherto unexplored and unused sources for the study of this significant chapter in the history of the Catholic Church on the American Frontier.

COLLECTIONS AND MANUSCRIPT SOURCES

ANADARKO, OKLAHOMA

The files of Father Aloysius Hitta, O. S. B., superintendent of St. Patrick's Mission, contain: letters from Mother Katherine Drexel; newspaper clippings that throw light on the past history of the mission; printed articles that Father Hitta has contributed to the *Indian Sentinel* and *The Oklahoma Indian School Magazine*; the Ms. copy of Bishop Martin Marty's letter to Charles E. Adams, United States Indian Agent at the Kiowa and Comanche Agency, authorizing Reverend Isidore Ricklin to select the quarter section for a mission; a letter from the Department of the Interior granting to the Catholic Bureau of Indian Missions the quarter section selected and the authority to cut timber and use stone from the same land. There are likewise reports of attendance, financial statements, and other such data.

The manuscript Record kept by the Sisters of the Third Order of St. Francis contains an account of St. Patrick's Mission since the arrival of the first group of Sisters on October 1, 1892. It lists those who have since that date been located at the mission, incidents connected with the daily life of the school, the number of pupils enrolled, visits, and other items of local history.

Similar material was found at Chickasha and Purcell where members of the same religious order have charge of the mission school.

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

The Newberry Library contains an appreciable amount of printed material that is of interest in this study. It can for the most part be found in the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions in Washington.

CORNWELLS HEIGHTS, PENNSYLVANIA

In St. Elizabeth Convent, the Motherhouse of the Sisters of the Blessed Sacrament, there are letters and petitions of the Indians in the Territory written to Mother Katherine Drexel, to the Benedictine Fathers, to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, and to Father Stephan, then head of the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions. There is also a letter from Father W. H. Ketcham to the Franciscan Sisters. A list of churches and schools erected and equipped by Mother Katherine Drexel shows the extent of her generous donations for schools and churches for the Indians and for the Negroes in Indian Territory. A *Prospectus of Saint John's Boarding School*, Gray Horse, Oklahoma, under the direction of the Christian Schools furnishes information on the object, courses, and general regulations of this school when it passed from the control of the Franciscan Sisters. Newspaper clippings and photographs of the Indian schools in the course of their erection are also to be found in these files.

FORT SMITH, ARKANSAS

In St. Patrick's Church adjoining St. Ann's Academy, may be found the Register of Marriages for Fort Smith and the Missions Attached Thereto 1845-1897: The Baptismal Register July 30, 1884 to October 1869, also Registerum Baptism [sic] 1857-1900 signed by Fathers Lawrence and Michael Smyth. These records are not only of historical value to one writing on early church history in the diocese of Arkansas, of which Indian Territory was then a part, but for one interested in the social conditions and political events of the period. Not only are the names and dates of persons baptized recorded, but in the margins numerous comments have been made. During the Civil War the church was occupied by Federal troops and the records in some places mutilated by them. When recovered after the conflict, the partial erasure of Yankee drawings and the caustic comments inserted by the pastor in the margin of the Baptismal Records gave strong evidence of his southern sympathies. Baptisms of slaves, prisoners condemned to be executed who were visited by the Sisters of Mercy, bits of local history, the time of departure and return from missionary trips to the Indian Territory, make these early records of more than passing historical worth.

GUTHRIE, OKLAHOMA

In the archives of the Benedictine Sisters at St. Joseph Convent are preserved the Community Records dating back to 1889, the year of their coming to the Territory. Among these are the *Scriptorium*, a record of work of the community, its growth in members, material development, and incidents connected with its general history. There is a priceless manuscript copy of the Memoirs of Sister Anselma, begun at Carolton, Pennsylvania, in October, 1819. It is the story of

the foundation in Creston, Iowa, its trials, vicissitudes, new members, and the final removal of the Motherhouse to Guthrie. In addition to these there are lists of schools under the care of the Benedictine Sisters, letters, reports, deeds, and various other documents of historical value. As is the case with practically all the institutions in Oklahoma, the manuscript material concerning their development since statehood is far greater than that concerning Territorial days.

LOUISVILLE, KENTUCKY

In the extensive newspaper collection of Nazareth Convent several printed articles are found, particularly those referring to Bishop Meerschaeert's appeal for funds for the Indian Territory. A *Scrap Book* with clippings of the yellow fever epidemic in 1876 was helpful.

LOUVAIN, BELGIUM

There are over nine hundred letters written to the rectors of the American college by priests, more than two score of whom were working in Indian Territory from 1891-1907. From *The Little Star of the Black Belt*, Lynchburg, Virginia, edited by Reverend J. Anciaux, later pastor at Langston, Indian Territory, much of the story of the Church and school for Negroes at that place may be obtained. Clippings from *The Living Age*, a non-Catholic magazine for the colored race, published at Langston, are also useful. The *American College Bulletin*, Vols. I to VII, has a list of the alumni in the Prefecture Apostolic, the dates and incidents of ordinations and departures, and numerous letters written from the Indian Territory. These are rich sources of Church history in Oklahoma, and often give an insight into conditions that could not be found elsewhere.

OKLAHOMA CITY, OKLAHOMA

The most valuable document in the Chancery Office is the private Diary of Bishop Meerschaeert. The more important events beginning in 1889 and extending to the time of his death in 1924 were jotted down on the blank pages of an Ordo. Here is recorded, in some twenty or more of these books, a short autobiography, his appointments before coming to the Territory, his appointment as Vicar Apostolic and the events connected with his consecration, departure, and reception in Guthrie. From 1891 there is kept a consistent, sometimes daily account of the Bishop's activities; his appointments, ordinations, confirmations, lectures, trips in the Territory, the United States, and in Europe, all these are to be found on pages where household accounts, salaries paid, and items connected with his daily life are likewise listed. That the busy Bishop had little time for details is evidenced by the brevity of most of the entries. Abbreviations are common, and spelling often phonetic, but the Diary as a whole takes on the nature of a fast moving narrative.

A wealth of statistical material is in the archives of the Oklahoma Historical Association. Among the thousands of documents that concerned the history of the Five Civilized Tribes and the Plains groups are reports, contracts, applications, as well as much correspondence between the superintendents at Sacred Heart, Anadarko, Chickasha, and Purcell concerning the schools over which they had charge. The quarterly reports, with a list of teachers employed, students enrolled and the produce of field and orchard, gives evidence of the general progress of the schools. These manuscripts are in the files of each tribe under the general heading of Schools. Letters from the pupils of the Catholic Indian mission schools to the Indian Agent are in the files of the Sac and Fox as well as those of the Potawatomie.

PAWHUSKA, OKLAHOMA

At the Osage Indian Agency is preserved the greatest collection of tribal records within the state. Among the manuscripts in the Miscellaneous Correspondence file are: two letters of Father Shoenmakers; the list of pupils who enrolled at St. Louis School the first year; the first report of Mother Mary De Sales who was in charge of the school; a number of letters from the Osage Indian Agent to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs regarding the two Catholic mission schools; a series of letters between the Agent and Commissioner concerning the request of Father Edward Van Waeberghe for land for church purposes; vouchers, petitions of the Osage Council for additional school funds; complaints and an occasional letter from a school child or its parents. The Gibson File contains much worth-while material including: a report of Inspector Edward Kemble regarding the repeated request of the Osage for Catholic missionaries; Osage petition to Ewing dated 1874; petition against Catholic teachers, 1875, signed by nine Osage; excerpts from eastern newspapers and letters from Agent Gibson to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Of particular interest, though of doubtful historical value, is the stenographic report regarding historical data of the first Catholic Church. This formed the proceedings of a meeting held in the parish hall May 23, 1937. At this time questions were asked some of the old settlers and their answers recorded in an effort to preserve some of the past history of the Catholic beginnings in Pawhuska. Because of the scholarly interest of Miss Lillian Mathews, the curator at Osage Agency, many interesting documents have been brought to light during the past few years and made available to students of history.

At St. Louis School the Sisters of Loretto have a number of School Registers that give the attendance of Indian children from 1889-1907. There may also be found a few statements of receipts and expenditures and other items of minor importance.

PERRY, OKLAHOMA

In the private files of Father Urban de Hasque, pastor of St. Rose

of Lima Church, are documents of prime value: lists of Oklahoma priests, churches, parishes, transfers, etc.; his attractive pictorial history of Oklahoma churches; his notes taken from a complete file of *Les Missions Catholiques*; copies of his own personal manuscripts as well as copies of manuscripts which he made from the archives of the Benedictine Fathers at Pierre-qui-Vire, France.

PIERRE-QUI-VIRE, FRANCE

The richest depository of primary material is the monastery of Pierre-qui-Vire. It was from here that the first Benedictine foundation was made in the South, on the Isle of Good Hope near Savannah, Georgia. Only two survived the yellow fever epidemic in 1876 and these joined Father Robot at Sacred Heart, Indian Territory, where he had made a second foundation. The original letters and reports of Father Robot, Father Ignatius Jean, and other Benedictines at Sacred Heart to the Abbot of Pierre-qui-Vire are to be found in the archives of the monastery. A lengthy manuscript describes Father Robot's trip to America and his near death from shipwreck. Though suppressed by the French government in 1880, the monastery is again in the hands of the Benedictines. Father Paul is the present librarian and archivist.

SACRED HEART, OKLAHOMA

In the archives of the Benedictine Fathers of Sacred Heart Priory are found the most important of all the materials for this vicinity. Of all the manuscripts here the *Annals of Sacred Heart Mission 1876-1907* are the most valuable. They record the coming of the first co-laborers of Father Robot; the incidents connected with the erection of Sacred Heart Monastery, the missionary trips among the various Indian tribes; the growth and development of the new foundation; the erection of the novitiate, ordinations, deaths, and every event of importance connected with the Benedictine Fathers. From it too, may be gathered the intimate side of the life in the monastery; the hardships of a life under the rule of primitive observance; amusing incidents, days of special festivities; the occasions when distinguished visitors were welcome guests and whose presence afforded much joy to the religious. Every appointment made by the Prefects Apostolic, new churches dedicated, schools opened, records of retreats, missions, baptisms, are only a part of the historic matter in these community reports. Other manuscripts include a record of Churches Built and Missions Established by the Benedictine Fathers. This gives the year, the place and the name of the priest through whose efforts the new churches were erected. Records of Priests Educated at Sacred Heart, both secular and religious, who were educated and ordained at Sacred Heart. Lists of the deceased members of the community are helpful in reckoning the years of service of the Fathers. Two other manuscripts deserve special mention. *Reminiscences* and *Memoirs* of

Brother John Laracy gives an intimate picture of this kindly lay brother, who is living today. Arriving in the Territory in 1879 he has crowded into the pages of his memoirs a vivid picture of the Potawatomie country as seen by one from New England. Recollections of a Missionary Trip 1885, by Reverend Hilary Cassal, is a very lengthy document on a trip made in the western part of Indian Territory and extending from the first of October until the end of the month. Its value is to be found in the persons, places, and circumstances connected with the trip. The files, likewise, contain many other valuable bits of history; albums of pictures of the fathers, students, activities incident to the life of the monastery and school.

ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI

A treasure house of Osage history is found in the Writings of Father Paul Mary Ponziglione, S. J., whose thirty-eight years of service (1852-1890) among the Osage, both in Kansas and Indian Territory, has been preserved in a collection of manuscripts in the archives of the Missouri Province of the Society of Jesus, St. Louis University. These consist, in part, in the *Annales Missiones S. Francesci de Heronymo a Patribus Societatis Jesu institutae apud Indos Americae Septentrionalis Osageos dictos* compiled in three notebooks; the *Annales*, which give a list of priests who worked among the Osages from 1827 to 1889 and a list giving the dates and localities of missionary stations begun by the Jesuits. Sixteen of these stations were within what is now the present state of Oklahoma. More important, however, is the *Western Missions Journal*, 10 Volumes. Here are recorded the missionary activities of Father Ponziglione between 1867 and 1890. No less interesting than the history are the Journals themselves. The volumes are each an average five cent notebook in which Father Ponziglione has written in legible English a detailed account not only of his trips among the Osages and other tribes but his work among the white settlers, visits to the army posts and mining camps. The writings in the Osage language include A Collection of Epistles and Gospels for the Sundays and Holy Days; an Osage Dictionary and Hymn Book; Instruction on the Christian Doctrine for the Teaching of the Osage Indians Residing on the Neosho and Verdigris, State of Kansas, North America. From this collection of manuscripts one catches a glimpse of a kindly man of deep spirituality, a historian of natural bent and careful scholarship. The Jesuits in the Kaw Valley, a type-written manuscript by Father John F. O'Connor, S. J., is useful for the story of Sugar Creek Mission. It was from this mission that Jesuit missionaries made their first trips into Indian Territory. It is a work based almost wholly on source material. A copy of this is available at St. Louis University.

SHAWNEE, OKLAHOMA

The files of the Benedictine Fathers at St. Gregory's Abbey con-

tain some material on the Church in the Territory, though they are much richer in matter that pertains to the time after statehood. Among the manuscripts is a file of Correspondence between the Benedictine Fathers and the Vicar Apostolic. Of particular value was a lengthy Report in the handwriting of Father Robot giving an account of the state of the Prefecture Apostolic in 1880. It is written in French and consists of answers, for the most part in detail, to sixty-four questions. They are concerned with the circumstances under which the Benedictines came to the Indian Territory, the condition of the country, the number of priests, the needs of the missions, financial conditions, and other questions concerning the spiritual life of the monastery. Papal documents, deeds, blue prints, financial reports, and a very few letters are other sources found in these files.

SOUTH BEND, INDIANA

The valuable archives of Notre Dame University contain only one or two manuscripts of interest to this story. The newspaper files, however, are particularly rich. Among those the *Freeman's Journal* is of importance.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

The Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions. This agency was established in 1874 and is an institution through which the affairs of the Indian missions are transacted with the United States Indian Office. The Bureau was the direct result of President Grant's "Indian Peace Policy" of December, 1870, in which he determined to give the agencies to such religious denominations as had before established missionaries among the Indians. In 1870 there were seventy-two Indian agencies, and in thirty-eight of these Catholic missionaries had been the first to establish themselves. Despite the fact, only eight were assigned to the Catholic Church. This caused 80,000 Catholic Indians to pass from Catholic to Protestant control.

At the instigation of the bishops under whose jurisdiction there were Indians, Archbishop Boyley, on January 2, 1874, appointed General Charles Ewing, Catholic Commissioner, and Reverend Felix Barrotti, Treasurer. On June 14, 1881, the Bureau was incorporated under the general corporation laws of the United States. Father Branillet died in 1884, and Reverend J. A. Stephan was appointed to succeed him. Ten years later the old organization was superseded by a new corporation chartered in perpetuity by an act of the General Assembly of Maryland. The corporate title is "The Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions." Father Stephan was director until his death in 1901 and was succeeded by Father Willard Ketcham, the first priest ordained by Bishop Meerschaert.

Since all the Catholic Indian schools in Oklahoma and Indian Territory were connected with the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions, the files of this institution hold a vast amount of documentary material.

The files are arranged chronologically and the material concerning the schools is found under date of their establishment. The manuscripts include: letters of Bishop Meerschaert; correspondence and reports from the Benedictine Fathers and the Sisters in charge of the various Indian schools; letters from parents, students, soldiers at the army posts and frequently letters from civilians; the petitions of the Osage for missionaries and religious teachers; their difficulties with the Indian agent, and affairs at the Osage agency. No other single depository contains so great an amount of manuscript material pertinent to the organization and development of Indian schools in Oklahoma.

In the manuscript collection of Georgetown University may be found Father Ponziglione's Osage Prayer Book and Short Catechism, and Osage Hymns with English translations.

In the files of the Indian Office may be found the incoming correspondence from the Indian superintendents, the missionaries agents and oftentimes from the Indians themselves. The material is for most part unclassified and is to be found in bundles under the name of the Indian Tribes. The Division of Maps has several hundred of Oklahoma, ranging in date from 1835. The most useful of these, however, appear in "Indian Land Cessions in the United States" compiled by Charles C. Royce, published in the Eighteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology to the secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, 1896-97, Washington 1899, Part 2.

PRINTED MATERIALS

Acta Sanctae Sedis, Rome, Vol. IX, 1885, 425-426, has two decrees pertaining to Indian Territory.

American College Bulletin, Louvain, Belgium, 1903-1907.

This quarterly publication contains many items of value on the Indian Territory. Practically every one of the seven volumes has some articles in reference to the Church or the priests working in the Territory. The names, dates of ordination, departures, visits, reprints of letters written from the Indian Territory to the American College, deaths, parish assignments are a few of the items recorded. It represents one source of information concerning the work of the secular clergy of which scant record has been preserved. Besides Right Reverend Bishop Meerschaert and the Very Reverend Gustave Depreitere, Vicar General, the American College sent to Indian Territory twenty-three priests between 1893-1907; all are mentioned in the work.

Annales de la Propagation de la Foi (Recueil Périodique des lettres des Evêques et des missionnaires des Missions des deux mondes, et de tous les documents relatifs aux missions et à l'oeuvre de la propagation de la foi.), 72 vols., Lyons and Paris, 1823-1900.

The first volume records the visit of the Osage chiefs to Bishop Du Bourg. Volume 69 gave an account of the death of Father Robot, and volumes 49 to 80 contain records of contributions made to Indian Territory under the Prefecture and during the vicariate.

Annals of the Catholic Indian Missions of America, Washington, 1877.

This series of publications by the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions contains a great amount of material concerning the Indian Territory, most of which can be obtained from the *Indian Advocate*. One issue dated January 6, 1877, contained a lengthy letter from Father Robot shortly after his arrival at Atoka, Indian Territory. It describes a trip covering a distance of 1065 miles, made among the Indian tribes. Other incidents mentioned include the erection of the Prefecture, the proposed location of a mission school, and other matters of particular interest to the Indian Territory.

Atoka Independent, Atoka, Indian Territory, March 1, 1877, July 27, 1877, August 23, 1878.

Reference to trips made by Father Robot among the Indian tribes.

Atoka Vindicator, Atoka, Indian Territory, January 26, March 1, April 12, April 19, December 13, 1876.

Chronicles the services at the Catholic Church in Atoka, the opening of school, and trips made by Father Robot to the military forts and Indian reserves.

Ave Maria, Notre Dame, Indiana, January 20, 1877.

Supports and approves Mr. McMaster's plan for helping Father Robot in Indian Territory.

Barney, Ralph A., *Laws Relating to the Osage Tribe of Indiana*, May 18, 1824 to March 2, 1929, Washington, 1929.

Consists of Acts of Congress relating to Osage affairs. It lists the Appropriation Acts of the Department of the Interior.

Carroll, Mary Theresa Austin, *Leaves from the Annals of the Sisters of Mercy*, 4 volumes, New York, 1889.

Contains sketches of the Order in Hispanic America and the United States. Chapters XLIII and LI tells of the foundation in Arkansas with several references to Indian Territory.

Catholic Advocate, New York, January 30, 1879, Vol. X, No. 34.

In an article entitled "The Indian's Need," a plea is made for a more humane and just treatment of the Indian. It concludes that it is the interest of all, Catholic and non-Catholic, that the religious be sustained in their work, given the necessary means, and be encouraged with the approval and support of the people.

Catholic Church in the United States of America, 2 volumes, New York, 1908.

Volume I is devoted to the religious communities in the United States. The original plan was to create a living portrayal of Catholic progress and development in the United States in honor of the golden jubilee of Pope Pius X. The articles are scholarly, exact, and are in almost every case signed. The articles on the Benedictine Fathers in Oklahoma, signed by Abbot Murphy, traces briefly the story of Sacred Heart Mission from 1877 to 1907. The table of statistics covering three decades is of special value.

Catholic Home, Oklahoma City, September 8, 1923.

This paper was the successor to the *Orphan's Record* and remained the diocesan organ until replaced by the *Southwest Courier*. This issue is known as the Thirty-Second Anniversary Number, in honor of Right Reverend Theophile Meerschaert. Its historical value lies in the "Account of Right Reverend Bishop Meerschaert's Activities in the Diocese of Oklahoma as Taken from His *Private Diary*." The articles are arranged chronologically from 1889 to 1921. February 23, and March 1, 1924, numbers contain incidents connected with the death of Bishop Meerschaert.

Catholic Telegraph, Cincinnati, October 24, 1901, Vol. 23, No. 16.

Contains an appeal of Bishop Meerschaert for help in his labor among the Indians, with an account of the vicariate in 1891 and of the growth during the previous ten years.

Chicago Times, February 28, 1878. "Injustice to Catholics."

Refers to the Indian mission schools.

Chimes. A Benedictine Quarterly Review published at Buckfast Abbey, II (July, 1922), No. 7.

This special number is devoted to the past history of Buckfast Abbey, but records the death of Rt. Rev. Abbot Natter, O. S. B., August 4, 1906, when the ship *Sirio* sank near the coast of Spain. A likeness of Father Thomas Dupérou, first Abbot of Sacred Heart Indian Territory, as first Superior of the restored Buckfast, as well as many pictures of the ancient Abbey lend interest to the story.

Dunn, John E., *Memorial to Very Reverend Lawrence Smyth*. Fort Smith, 1900. 81pp.

Ex. Doc., No. 6, Senate, 44th Congress, 1st Sess., December 17, 1875.

This gives an investigation of the affairs of the Osage Indian Agency with an abstract of the evidence and charges against the Indian agent. Several references are given to his interference with petitions for Catholic schools and missionaries.

Graves, W. W., *Annals of Osage Missions*, St. Paul, Kansas, 1935.

The material contained in the publication of 490 pages has been collected "from hundreds of sources including personal knowledge, interviews, books, pamphlets, manuscripts, old letters and newspapers."

Guy, Reverend F. S., *The Catholic Church in Arkansas (1541-1843)*. Ms., M. A. Thesis, Catholic University Library, 57pp.

Hasque, Very Reverend Urban de, *Saint Patrick's Indian Mission of Anadarko Oklahoma, 1891-1915*, n. d.

This historical sketch written by the former chancellor of the diocese was one of several publications of St. Joseph's Orphanage dealing with the history of the Church in Oklahoma. The pamphlet contains twenty-six pages.

Historical Sketch, Quarter Century's Incipience, Growth and Development of the Holy Family Parish, Tulsa, Oklahoma, 1899-1924.

The contents of this work is indicated by the sub-title. In the two hundred pages written from the parish records one is able to see the remarkable development of the parish whose frame church in 1899 measured only 30 x 50 and is a quarter century later replaced by a million dollar edifice, Holy Family Co-Cathedral, one of the most beautiful edifices in the Southwest. Illustrations of the old church and school, pictures of all the pastors who have been appointed to the parish, various societies, lists of those who helped to finance the new church and a list of the parishioners makes this Silver Jubilee number a record of no small value.

House Ex. Docs., No. 131, 41 Cong., 3rd Sess., Vol. XII, February 11, 1871. Serial No. 1460.

Communication to obtain the consent of the Osage to move to Indian Territory.

House Ex. Docs., No. 152, 42 Cong., 2nd Sess., Vol. X, February 17, 1872. Serial No. 1513.

Appropriation for settlement, subsistence, and support of Osage.

House Ex. Docs., No. 146, 42 Cong., 2nd Sess., Vol. X, February 15, 1872. Serial No. 1512.

Expenses necessary for the removal of the Osage.

House Ex. Docs., No. 142, 42 Cong., 3rd Sess., Vol. VIII, January 30, 1873. Serial No. 1566.

Estimate on appropriations to pay Osage annual interest of 5 per cent on proceeds of sales of Osage trust and diminished reserve lands.

House Ex. Docs., No. 183, 42 Cong., 3rd Sess., Vol. IX, February 4, 1873. Serial No. 1567.

Amendment to appropriation bill for removal of Great and Little Osage from Kansas in accordance with treaty.

House Misc. Docs., No. 49, 40 Cong., 3rd Sess., February 15, 1869. Serial No. 1385.

This is a protest against the ratification of the treaty with the Great and Little Osage.

Indian Advocate, Sacred Heart, Indian Territory, 1888-1910, 22 volumes.

Begun by the second Prefect Apostolic, this quarterly has the distinction of being the first Catholic publication in the Territory. It remained the diocesan organ until 1910 when chiefly through lack of support it was discontinued. The paper had for its object the cause of the Indians and was an attempt to give a history of their progress toward civilization. In 1888 only one issue appeared, the Prospectus. The year following it came out as a quarterly, of four pages of small in-folio size. In 1893 it was published in Royal Octavo size of twenty-four pages. In 1902 it was reduced to regular Octavo dimensions with the pages numbering thirty-six. From 1902 to June, 1910, the last issue, it was published each month. Only two complete files of this publication are known to exist. One is found at Sacred Heart Priory at Sacred Heart, Oklahoma, and the other in the private collection of Reverend Urban de Hasque. At Smithsonian Institute in Washington, D. C., the following volumes may be found: 6-22 (1894-1910). The files of the *Indian Advocate* are rich in the history of the early Benedictines in the Territory, missionary and educational. It recorded news from each of the Indian missions, biographical sketches of the priests in the Territory, the coming of the various religious orders of women, deaths, ordinations, personal notes, changes in parishes, statistics that indicated the growth in the Catholic population, both Indian and white. Through its wide publication the needs of the Territory were brought to the attention of persons throughout the country and as a consequence much assistance was given to the Indians at the mission schools. The early issues devoted columns strictly to the work of the Church and for that reason it is practically the only printed source of the Church's history during Territorial days. The articles were well written, and have real historical value.

Indian Sentinel. An annual published in the interest of the Society for the Preservation of the Faith among Indian children by the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions. Washington, 1902-1938.

The issues of this small publication, consisting generally of fifty odd pages, contain much of value to the Indian Mission schools in Indian Territory. Of these, certain numbers are of particular interest to this study. Namely, the 1902-1903 number, for its appeal on behalf of the Catholic Indian schools; "The Sisters of the Blessed Sacrament

Number," 1907, which contains an excellent account of Mother Katherine Drexel and also an article on St. Mary's Academy at Sacred Heart; "The Archbishop Ryan Number," for the account of St. Louis Industrial School at Pawhuska and St. John's at Gray Horse; "Our Lady of Guadalupe Number," 1914, for splendid accounts of Sacred Heart Institute at Vinita, St. Agnes School, Antlers, as well as the items on missionary work among the Choctaws; "The Father de Smet Number," 1916, continues the story of "In Choctaw Lands" and includes a worth-while article on Matthias Spitzlog, one of the best known Catholic Indians in the Territory. The *Indian Sentinel* is a source for Catholic Indian history, not only in Oklahoma but wherever Catholic Indian missions are located.

Les Bénédictins de Sainte Marie de la Pierre-qui-Vire (Diocèse de Sens). Pamphlet printed at Monastère de Sainte Marie de la Pierre-qui-Vire par Quarre les Tombes in 1877.

This little study containing seventy-four pages is a brief history of the founding of the monastery of Pierre-qui-Vire and a discussion of monastic life under the rule of the primitive observance.

Les Missions Catholiques (Bulletin hebdomadaire illustré de L'Oeuvre de la Propagation de la Foi. Lettres et recits des Missionnaires, Voyages, Géographie, Sciences, Arts, Cartes et Gravures inédites. A Lyon, au bureau des Missions Catholiques, rue d'Auvergne 6).

From January 26, 1877, until March 29, 1901, practically every issue of this publication gave some space to affairs in the Indian Territory. The articles included letters from Father Isidore Robot and other Benedictines at Sacred Heart; decrees of the Propaganda such as naming Father Robot titular Abbot; the erection of the Novitiate at Sacred Heart and others; resignations, appointments, deaths, statistics, recruits, the beginning of new mission schools, erection of churches, missionary trips, the progress and development of the vicariate, the appointment of a Vicar Apostolic, in short, scores of articles concerning the Church in Indian Territory.

Letters and Notices, 50 volumes, Roehampton, England, 1863-1935.

A publication by the Society of Jesus for private circulation only. Of interest to this study are the letters of Father Colleton and one of Father Ponziglione regarding the work at Osage Mission.

Little Star of the Black Belt, Lynchburg, Virginia, September, 1902, Vol. I, No. 2.

The value of this small monthly publication is that it was edited by Father J. Anciaux who worked so zealously in the Territory in behalf of the Negro. The article entitled "Langston and Oklahoma" gave a worth-while picture of "little Africa." The publication had a number of reprints from other Catholic papers.

Louisville Catholic Advocate, Louisville, Kentucky, November 6, 1876.

Article concerning the yellow fever epidemic at the Isle of Hope, near Savannah, Georgia.

Lucy, Reverend John M., *Souvenir of a Silver Jubilee*, Little Rock, 1892.

This small publication, consisting of thirty-two pages, is a simple narrative of the Church in Arkansas. It represents for the most part items jotted down from personal recollections or from conversations with persons familiar with the events. In it one may find a record of the visits made by priests from the diocese of Arkansas, of which the Indian Territory was a part until 1876. It gives a worth-while picture of the diocese at that time, of the Indian Territory, and the Forts where the priests made frequent visits. The value of the narrative is that it is one of the very few publications on the Church in Arkansas, and what is mentioned concerning the visits of priests from Fort Smith is substantiated by the Baptism and Marriage Records.

Memorial Volume. A History of the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore. November 9 to December 7, 1884. Baltimore, 1885.

Contains a brief sketch of the life of Father Robot and an excellent picture of him.

Mills, Lawrence, *The Lands of the Five Civilized Tribes*, St. Louis, 1919.

A treatise upon the law applicable to the lands of the Five Civilized Tribes with a compilation of all treaties, federal acts, laws of Arkansas, and of the several tribes relating thereto, together with the rules and regulations prescribed by the Secretary of the Interior governing the sale of tribal lands, the leasing and sale of allotted lands and the removal of restrictions.

Morning Star, New Orleans, Louisiana, December 6, 1876.

New Orleans Morning Star, New Orleans, Louisiana, August 22, 1880.

New York Freeman's Journal and Catholic Register, 76 volumes, New York, 1840-1909.

From the date of the erection of the Prefecture and the appointment of Father Robot, the *Freeman's Journal*, under the direction of the aggressive James McMaster, began to record events connected with it. The extensive correspondence between Father Robot and Mr. McMaster is important. For three years, 1876-1879, the letters of the Prefect Apostolic appeared in *Freeman's Journal*. Father Robot wrote not only interesting letters but very long ones. They ranged in length from five pages to twelve and one consisted of twenty. During the year 1879 this newspaper devoted a large amount of space to the "Confraternity for Reparation to the Indians," a plan for raising

funds for the Prefecture Apostolic. Each week during the entire year, the contributions received were listed and very frequently a number of letters received were published. In addition there are dozens of editorials devoted to the cause of the Prefecture. During this year, too, the difficulties between the *Freeman's Journal* and the *Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions* grew out of the journal soliciting funds, an infringement on the rights claimed by the Bureau. Scathing editorials, sometimes two double columns in length, set forth the attitude of the editor toward the attacks on his pet plan. He emerged triumphant, it seems, for the Confraternity received the blessing of the Holy Father, the amount desired was collected, and peace reigned once again in the columns of the *Freeman's Journal*. Of historical value are later issues of this paper, particularly during 1880-1884. After that date, however, the Prefecture did not seem to receive any publicity from this source. The *Freeman's Journal* is a source not only for the history of the Church in Indian Territory but has many articles of value concerning the Church in other parts of the southwest. The Journal began in 1840, absorbed the *Catholic Register* in 1841, and in 1910 passed out of existence.

New York Tablet, New York, Saturday, June 1, 1878, on the Catholic Indian Bureau; Saturday, August 24, 1876, account of yellow fever in the South with particular reference to Savannah, Georgia; June 1, 1878, reference to the difficulty between the *Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions* and the *Freeman's Journal* over funds for the Indian Territory; September 21, 1878, an appeal of John Cardinal McCloskey, Archbishop of New York for funds for the South stricken by yellow fever.

Oeuvre des Missions Catholiques des Etats-Unis D'Amérique, Rome, 1879.

A small pamphlet published by the Propaganda in the interest of the Catholic missions of the United States. It contains a letter of the Sacred Congregation of the Propaganda recommending the work to all the bishops of the United States. It has also a brief explanation of the Bureau itself; the object of the work, in what it consists and its personnel. There is an estimate made of the number of Indians in the United States, those who are Catholic or the descendants of Catholics. The last page is devoted to an appeal for support and a list of the hierarchy approving the project.

Oklahoma Daily Capital, Guthrie, Indian Territory, September 29, 1889.

Orphan's Record, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, 1915-1924, 11 volumes.

This was the second Catholic monthly to appear in Oklahoma. Of particular interest is Volume I, characterized by the number of articles

on matters of historical interest in the diocese. Many of these are signed and are all scholarly. They include such items as Catholic buildings erected; Catholic churches incorporated; news from each of the parishes; reports from the various religious congregations; changes among the clergy; Episcopal appointments and other subjects of purely historical character. Unfortunately the later volumes of this publication did not continue recording Church history as was done the first year. Although all the succeeding issues fall far short of that of 1915 there are some that are of definite historic worth.

Purcell Register, Purcell, Oklahoma, March 30, 1893.

A tribute by a non-Catholic, to the Benedictine Fathers at Sacred Heart.

Report of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, Boston, 1820, to the present time.

It is one of the richest sources for the history of Presbyterian missionary activity with a substantial reference to their work in Indian Territory.

Reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1832-1937.

Contains reports from the missionaries and those in charge of the various Indian schools. In 1832 the office was established in the War Department and continued there until 1849. At this date it was removed to the Department of the Interior.

Reports of the Governor of Oklahoma Territory, Washington, 1893-1906.

A general description of the Territory, its natural resources, attractions, future possibilities with tables of statistics showing the industrial development and other features are contained in these yearly reports. Of particular value are the statistics showing the number of Catholic churches, priests, chapels, stations, residences, church membership, schools for whites, colored, and Indians, and even the Sunday schools with their number in attendance. They serve as an index to the growth of the Catholic Church in the Territory.

Revista Catolica, Las Vegas, New Mexico, April 30, 1893. Excursion of Reverend P. Salvador Personé, S. J., from Trinidad, Colorado, to the Mexican settlement in western Oklahoma. November 4, 1894, Father Personé describes another visit to the same Mexican settlement in company with Bishop Meerschaert.

Robot, Right Reverend Dom Isidore, *The Life of the Reverend Mary John Baptist Muard*. Founder of the Missionary Priests of the Benedictine Monastery of St. Mary of Pierre-qui-Vire. Translated from the French of the Abbe Brulée, New York and Cincinnati, 1882.

This is the first printed account of the foundation of the Benedictine monastery of Pierre-qui-Vire, the Motherhouse of the Benedictine Fathers of Sacred Heart. It is evidence, too, of the untiring energy of the first Prefect Apostolic, who in the midst of labors in the wilds of Indian Territory could devote time to work of this nature.

Sadlier's Catholic Directory, Almanac and Ordo, New York, 1864-1889; also *Hoffman's Catholic Directory, Almanac and Clergy List*, 1886-1907.

These directories contain very valuable statistical lists.

Senate Mis. Docs., No. 137, 42nd Cong., 2nd Sess., Vol. II, April 11, 1872, Serial No. 1478.

Confirmation of the reservation in Indian Territory to Great and Little Osage.

Schmeckebier, Laurence F., *The Office of Indian Affairs, Its History, Activities and Organizations* (Service Monograph of the United States Government, 48), Baltimore, 1927.

A detailed study of the relationship between the United States government and the Indian Tribes to the year 1928. The periods of allotment and citizenship, particularly since 1887 is developed in detail. The removal of the Indians is briefly discussed. The tables of statistics, the maps and table of reservations and agencies are of service to the study of Indian Territory.

Southern Messenger, San Antonio, Texas, April 6, 1905.

This issue contains an article reprinted from *The Living Age*, Langston, Oklahoma, Territory. It tells the story of the establishment of Holy Family Colored School, of the first teachers, and the school's growth and successful operation.

Thwaites, R. C., *Early Western Travels, 1848-1856*, 32 volumes, Cleveland, 1904-1907.

From this compilation of western history, an excellent account of the Territory in the early part of the century was written by Thomas Nuttalls, *Journal of Travels into the Arkansas Territory during the Year 1819*, XIII, Cleveland, 1905.

Woodstock Letters (A Record of the Current Events and Historical Notes connected with the Colleges and Missions of the Society of Jesus), 67 volumes, Woodstock, Maryland, 1872-1938.

In this series printed for private circulation volumes III-IX, XI-XIII, XVIII, embracing the years 1874-1889, contain material pertinent to this study. The missionary trips made by Father Ponziglione, S. J., into the Indian Territory and the incidents connected with such

visits are some of the items in these reports that help to show the extent of Jesuit activity in Indian Territory.

Wallrapp, Reverend James J., *Our Lady of Prompt Succor Church*, n. d.

A booklet of 35 pages published some time before statehood.

SECONDARY WORKS

BOOKS

Barnaba, Sister Mary, O. S. F., *A Diamond Crown for Christ the King. A Story of the First Franciscan Foundation in Our Country 1855-1930*, Glen Riddle, Pennsylvania, 1930.

Baska, Sister Mary Regina, O. S. B., *The Benedictine Congregation of Saint Scholastica: Its Foundation and Development (1852-1930)*. The Catholic University of America Studies in American Church History, XX, Washington, 1935.

Catholic Encyclopedia. 15 volumes, New York, 1907.

Clarke, Richard Henry, *Lives of the Deceased Bishops of the Catholic Church in the United States*, New York, 1888.

Code, Reverend Joseph Bernard, *Great American Foundresses*, New York, 1929.

Dehey, E. T., *Religious Orders of Women in the United States*, rev. ed., Hammond, Indiana, 1930.

Fitzgerald, Sister Mary Paul, *The Osage Mission: A Factor in the Making of Kansas*, Ms., Ph. D. dissertation, St. Louis University, 1936.

By far the most scholarly treatment of the Jesuit Mission at St. Paul, Kansas. The manuscript collection of Father Ponziglione in the archives of St. Louis University was the inspiration of this work. The development of the Mission was studied against a background of Government Indian policy, missionary endeavor and Indian life and customs. Based almost wholly on primary materials it is of importance to any one writing on the Osage Indians.

Gately, Sister Mary Josephine, *The Sisters of Mercy. Historical Sketches (1831-1931)*. New York, 1931.

The history of the Sisters of Mercy is told "from historical matter gathered from five continents." The sketch on St. Mary's School at Sacred Heart is disappointing.

Gittinger, Roy, *The Formation of the State of Oklahoma, 1803-1906*. University of California Publications in History, Volume VI, Berkeley, 1917.

- Gould, Charles N., *Oklahoma Place Names*, Linguistic Origins, Physiographic Names, Names of Counties, Post Offices, Towns, Forts, Old Timers, Obsolete Terms, Norman, Oklahoma, 1933.
- Graves, William W., *Life and Letters of Reverend Father John Schoenmakers, S. J., Apostle to the Osages*, Parsons, Kansas, 1928.
- Griffin, J., *Contributions of Belgium to the Catholic Church in America, 1823-1857*. The Catholic University of America, Studies in American Church History, XIII, Washington, D. C., 1932.
- Harlow, Rex, *Oklahoma Leaders*, Biographical Sketches of the Foremost Living Men of Oklahoma, Oklahoma City, 1928.
- Hodge, Frederick Webb (Ed.), *Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico*. Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 30, Parts I and II, Washington, 1907-1910.
- Indian Territory, Descriptive Biographical, Geneological, including the Landed Estates, County Seats with General History of the Territory*, New York, 1901.
- Contains several biographical sketches of Oklahoma priests.
- Kinsella, Reverend Thomas H., *A Century of Catholicity in Kansas 1822-1922 Catholic Indian Missions and Missionaries of Kansas. The Pioneers of the Prairies*, Kansas City, 1921.
- Lucy, Reverend J. J., *The Catholic Church in Arkansas*, Little Rock, 1906.
- A small pamphlet of fifty-five pages, based on the Silver Jubilee edition by the same author.
- Miscellaneous Indian Documents, 1870-19—*. United States Department of the Interior, 54 volumes, Washington, Government Printing Office, 1870-19—.
- Moorehead, Warren King, *Archaeology of the Arkansas River Valley*, with supplementary papers on "The Prehistoric Cultures of Oklahoma," by Joseph Thoburn. Published for the Department of Archaeology, Andover, Massachusetts, 1931.
- Morrison, William Brown, *Military Posts and Camps in Oklahoma*, Oklahoma City, 1936.
- Although the author devotes considerable space to the non-Catholic missionaries who visited the military posts, no mention is made of Catholic priests.
- Owens, Sister Mary Lilliana, S. L., *The History of the Sisters of Loretto in the Trans-Mississippi West*, Ms., Ph. D. Dissertation, St. Louis University, 1935.

Portrait and Biographical Record of Oklahoma. Commemorating the achievement of citizens who have contributed to the progress of Oklahoma and the development of its resources. Chicago, 1901.

Shea, John Gilmary, *History of the Catholic Missions among the Indians*, New York, 1885.

Shea, John Gilmary, *A History of the Catholic Church in the United States*, 4 volumes, New York, 1890.

Shipp, Bernard, *The History of Hernando de Soto and Florida or Record of the Events of Fifty-Six Years from 1512-1568*, Philadelphia, 1881.

The History of Catholicity in Arkansas, ed., Diocesan Historical Commission, Little Rock, 1925.

The Romance of Oklahoma, Oklahoma Author's Club, Oklahoma City, 1920.

Thoburn, Joseph B., assisted by a Board of Advisors, *A Standard History of Oklahoma. An Authentic Narrative of Its Development from the Date of the First European Exploration Down to the Present Time including Accounts of the Indian Tribes, Both Civilized and Wild, of the Cattle Range, of the Land Openings and the Achievements of the Most Recent Period*, 5 volumes, Chicago and New York, 1916.

Thomas, Alfred B., *After Coronado*, University of Oklahoma Press, 1935.

Walker, Francis A., *The Indian Question*, Boston, 1878.

Webb, Walter Prescott, *The Great Plains*, Boston, 1931.

Winship, George Parker, "The Coronado Expedition 1540-1542," *Fourteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology 1892-1893*, Washington, 1896.

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Anderson, Sister Pauline, O. S. B., "Benedictine Sisters in the United States," *Little Flower Monastery Messenger*. Newton, New Jersey, July, 1933.

Ave Maria, Notre Dame, Indiana, 1865-1938. January 20, 1877.

Bandelier, Adolphe F. A., "Fray Juan de Padilla, the First Catholic Missionary and Martyr in Eastern Kansas, 1542," *American Catholic Quarterly Review*, XV (1890), 551-565.

Bandelier, Adolphe F. A., "Final Report of Investigations among the

Indians of Southwestern United States Carried on from 1880-1885," *Papers of the Archaeological Institute of America, American Series*, III, IV, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1886.

"The Benedictines" by one of themselves, *The Catholic World*, XXXI (1880), 243-257.

Chronicles of Oklahoma. Published quarterly by the Oklahoma Historical Society, Oklahoma City, 1924-1938.

DeHasque, Reverend Urban, "Early Catholic History of Oklahoma," *The Southwest Courier*, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, July-December, 1928.

DeHasque Reverend Urban, "Religious Congregations in Oklahoma," *The Southwest Courier*, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, March-May, 1930.

Presents the view that the expedition never left Texas.

Fitzgerald, Sister Mary Paul, "A Jesuit Circuit Rider," *MID-AMERICA*, XVIII (July, 1936), 162-198.

A life of Father Paul Ponziglione, S. J., based for the most part on the *Western Missions Journal*, Ms. collection at St. Louis University.

Ganss, Reverend H. C., "The Indian Mission Problem, Past and Present," *The Catholic Mind*, New York, September, 1904.

A scholarly discussion of the Peace Policy of President Grant, the organization and work of the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions, Mother Katherine Drexel and the various religious orders working among the Indian groups.

Hitta, Reverend Aloysius, "Saint Patrick's Indian Mission at Anadarko, Oklahoma," *The Oklahoma Indian School Magazine* (Kiowa Edition), Chiloco, Oklahoma, December, 1932.

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Steck, Francis Borgia, "The Neglected Aspects of the De Soto Expedition," *MID-AMERICA*, XV (July, 1932), 3-27.

Stolfa, Florence J., "Catholic Folk Organized in '92," *The Daily Ardmoreite*, Ardmore, Oklahoma, July 21, 1937.

The Dallas Morning News, Dallas, Texas, April 21, 1929.

A feature article entitled "Observe Fortieth Anniversary of Oklahoma's Settlement as Early Days of State Recalled."

The Central Catholic Advocate, August 14, 1884. "The Benedictines in the Diocese of Savannah."

The Southwest Courier, Oklahoma City, 1925-1938.

No other printed source contains more material on the Church in Oklahoma than the files of this Catholic weekly. Although it is concerned chiefly with the news of the diocese at the present time, many articles may be found, especially in the *Annual*, a special number issued each year, that have material pertinent to the church in Territorial days.

SISTER URSULA THOMAS, O. S. B.

Notes and Comment

FUR TRADE

Students of the history of the Upper Missouri region in the fur-trading period will find an indispensable aid for their purpose in Dr. Annie Heloise Abel's edition of *Chardon's Journal at Fort Clark 1834-1839* (Pierre, South Dakota, 1932). The journal, not previously published and since its publication somewhat overlooked, is, for all its prosaic detail, a revealing and often vivid picture of conditions in the fur trade and of the accompanying relations between Indians and whites at a remote post in frontier days. The value of the document is enormously enhanced by the editor's introduction and notes. Some eighty pages of illustrative documents, most of them published for the first time, are also included in the volume, which is rounded out by a highly detailed and most usable index. Francis S. Chardon was a typical and richly experienced trader who made contacts with most of the leading members of the fur-trading fraternity of his day, and his experiences at Fort Clark in the present North Dakota, one of the three principal posts of the American Fur Company, where he was in charge for a period, fill out the pages of his journal.

Dr. Abel's introduction to the journal is an objective and penetrating study of that perennially interesting phase of early American economic life, the fur trade, particularly as conducted on the Upper Missouri in Chardon's time. Intimate familiarity with the subject from the study of first-hand sources is evidenced on every page. The materials for thorough-going and critical analysis of the western fur trade during the frontier period are still for the most part unpublished, and it is on such materials that Dr. Abel based her study. As to the notes, they run to one hundred and twenty-three pages in rather fine print and collectively are a mine of authentic and otherwise practically inaccessible information regarding the careers of the early traders of the Upper Missouri region, the activities of the American Fur Company in the same area, and in general, life in all its phases as it went on in that far-flung section of the American scene. Straightforward comment upon the notes would be that they appear to be the most permanently valuable part of the volume.

To the general reader the most readable part of the journal is probably the pages telling of the terrible smallpox epidemic of 1837, which almost wiped the Mandan tribe out of existence. Chardon's data on the tragedy may seem unduly matter-of-fact, but they are poignantly significant.

All in all, Dr. Abel has made a contribution of the utmost value to a subject the treatment of which, in the present status of American

historiography, is not any too well advanced. This contribution should long ago have received its merited notice in these pages. Students and readers will likewise find themselves under obligation to Dr. Lawrence K. Fox, under whose auspices as superintendent of the department of history of the State of South Dakota the volume was published.—G. J. G.

REPORT OF THE NEWBERRY LIBRARY

The Report of the Newberry Library of Chicago, just issued, states that the library completed in 1937 fifty years since its establishment in 1887 as a reference library, and surveys briefly its record of service to serious students in the fields of American history, English literature, history of the art of printing, and other subjects connected with the so-called humanities.

One donation to the library during the past year is of special interest to students of early American history. This is a collection of books, formed by a trustee, Mr. William B. Greenlie, that comprises practically all the printed sources and secondary material dealing with the Portuguese discoveries and colonization in America of the sixteenth century. This acquisition supplements the material on the Spanish voyages and colonization of the same period in the Ayer section of the Newberry Library, and places at the service of students a wealth of valuable material.

The *Check List of Manuscripts*, issued by the library in 1937, has already brought to light a manuscript that became the subject of an article, "The Chronicle of Pérez de Ribas," in the April issue of *MID-AMERICA*, written by the editor of this quarterly.—W. S. M.

HISTORICAL NOVELS

Some novels are known to have distinct historical value. Novelists have been known to spend much time in gathering items from source books and even documents for the purpose of presenting a trustworthy picture of the past. But the purposes of the novel and of the historical writing will forever remain divorced; even a good novel cannot be termed good history. Recently, an "historical" novel, *Black Forest*, by Meade Minnigerode, was published as a part of the celebration of the passing of the Ordinance of 1787. It purports to tell the story of the George Rogers Clark campaign and brings in Father Gibault and his part in Clark's success. The story is unfortunately overlaid with profanity, the idea of the author being possibly to make his characters more human.

In a note (p. 359) we find that "the author has taken minor liberties with the career of Father Gibault." One of the "minor liberties" might be the statement: "Father Gibault said that it might be disregarding the secret of the confessional to tell me, but that it would be a greater sin not to" (p. 215). Such a statement may have been intro-

duced by an author for dramatic or patriotic or other reasons, and it might be included under the blanketing heading of a minor liberty. But it is major in its offensiveness, to both ecclesiastical and historical ears. If the novelist sought to extol the patriot priest, he succeeded by this characterization only in depriving him of both qualities of priestliness and patriotism. Gibault becomes Machiavellian by following the "end justifies the means" principle. He becomes a spurious patriot, one who cannot be trusted with anything if he cannot keep the secrecy of the confessional. Bad history, bad novel writing, and bad taste run together in this sentence.—E. O. M.

THINGS ARE BEING FOUND

For years past, historians have been making great wishes that certain things would turn up to rid them of troubles regarding mooted and apparently unsolvable problems. There are a number of perennial sources for debate because of a lack of authentic documentary evidence, and the points have both local and national interest. One subject of profound study and debate has been the question of Wineland, or the accurate story of the early Norse voyages to America. The trips of these early comers are open to disputed interpretations, since, to give one reason, the Saga of Eric the Red differs from an account in the Flatey Book. The termini of the journeys are debated. If some monument of stone or some writing had been left in America by Bjarni, or Leif, or Karlsefni, or some other, great advances could be made toward the solution of the problems: when and whereto did the Scandinavians come. A second puzzle has been that of the Roanoke colony of the English. If the people of the lost colony had only left some traces of their movements and fate, how convenient it would be for historians of today. Students of California history have long expressed both amazement and chagrin over the actions of the pirate Francis Drake, who spent some months off the coast of California and was not curious enough to go over the mountains to discover the beautiful Bay of San Francisco. Or did he? The Mississippi Valley and the plains beyond have contributed their share of mysteries. A point of controversy between Texas, Oklahoma, Kansas, and Nebraska has been the location of Quivira, the end of the trail for Coronado. Another moot point has been the route followed by the famed *conquistador* De Soto and the scene of his death and burial. And these are merely some examples of facts which needed elucidation.

But now things are being found which have successively aroused debate. The Kensington Stone is considered by some as a partial solution of the Norse mystery. A brass plate, tentatively identified as belonging at one time to Drake's ship, was discovered over the mountains along the Bay of San Francisco. The description of this is written by Herbert E. Bolton in the California Historical Society Publication of last year. At the end of 1937, a quartz stone, was found in

the east, having on its surface scratches which, if proved authentic by the many researchers laboring over them, are the writings of some member of Raleigh's Roanoke colony. The description of this is published in *The Journal of Southern History* for May, 1938. Coming out of the earth of northeastern Kansas, another inscription stone bears indications of having been a marker for the end of the Coronado expedition. The stone adds evidence to Winship's opinion about the site of Quivira, but still it does not settle the debate. Last year also, two coffins were accidentally unearthed on the river bank opposite Memphis. Newspapers carried stories to the effect that the remains within the coffins might be those of De Soto and his chief warrior. When litigation over the possession of the remains has run its course, perhaps something may be done in the way of investigation, in which this editor was asked to participate. This last named finding leaves the historian in a skeptical mood. Are too many things, long sought, being found?

THE JESUITS IN FLORIDA

Archivum Historicum Societatis Jesu, January-June, 1938, has a well documented account in Spanish of "Pedro Martínez (1533-1566), La Primera Sangre Jesuítica en las Misiones Norteamericanas," by Félix Zubillaga, S. J., who is in Rome preparing documents on the Jesuits in Florida for publication. While the account reveals some new sources on the earlier life of Martínez, it is deficient as far as the Florida scene is concerned. Father Martínez, the early martyr of Florida, has interested readers by reason of his personality. He is admired for his brave act of landing on the shores of Florida, not so much, it appears, to evangelize the treacherous savages as to die for the faith. The story of his deed is rather well known.

Several points are not cleared up by the article, or, for that matter, by preceding writers, Astrain, Lowery, Kenny, Lanning, and Ugarte. The difficulties are these: Where did the Flemish boat carrying the missionary band, Martínez, Rogel, and Villarreal go after it broke from the westbound fleet? Why did not Menéndez supply it with a pilot? When and where did the *urca* arrive in Florida? After Martínez and his companions landed, a storm blew up. When the storm abated, why did not the captain of the boat try to pick up his men? Was there a mutiny aboard the boat? These questions were indicated and partly solved recently by a student at Loyola University in her Master's dissertation on the travels and work of Father Juan Rogel. From this study, it is apparent that the expedition was very badly managed. The Flemish boat left the fleet at the Virgin Islands and made its way to Havana, where it was to pick up a navigator. Waiting for some days, it at length put out for San Agustín without pilot or charts. An unruly spirit manifested itself in the crew as the craft drifted off Florida, for the members selected to go ashore refused at

first to do so until Martínez led the way. The storm of hurricane proportions did not blow the boat south to Monte Cristi on northern Española. Rather, the sailors forced the captain to depart the Florida coast.

In spite of what has already been written about the Jesuits in Florida, the whole of their activity and especially their relations with Menéndez must be done over in a very careful manner. The points brought into question above are only a few of the many problems pertaining to the missionary advance into Florida.

NEW FORMAT

The editor of the *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, Paul M. Angle, is to be congratulated upon the new format with which he begins the thirty-first volume of the publication, (March, 1938). History will continue to be served by means of accurate and scholarly articles, but added to these will be feature sections, "one, a chronological summary of events in Illinois during the preceding year, will appear annually in the first number of the calendar year." The other, entitled "The Illinois Scrapbook," will be found in each issue. The purpose of the latter lies in its flavor and entertainment. The first number quite achieves its several purposes. The first article, "Hell and High Water," by Richard L. Beyer, is a record of the disastrous flood of 1937 as it affected southern Illinois. Nelson V. Russell, in the second article, goes back into the long past to describe "The French and British at Play in the Old Northwest, 1760-1796." The third writer is Harry Evjen, and his subject is the "Illinois State University, 1852-1868."

VARIA

The Bruce Publishing Company of Milwaukee has brought out recently several books of more than passing note. A scholarly work, *The Jesuit Code of Liberal Education*, by Allan P. Farrell, S. J., will be reviewed in the next number of MID-AMERICA. Two other books are translations. *History of the Church*, by Joseph Lortz, is translated from the German by Edwin G. Kaiser. *Francisco Franco*, by Joaquín Arrarás, is translated by Dr. J. Manuel Espinosa.

A *General Index* to the first twenty volumes of *The Catholic Historical Review* has been compiled by Rev. Harold J. Bolton, S. T. D. It is published at the Catholic University of America, and may be obtained postpaid for two dollars. The compiler and the sponsors are to be congratulated upon the completion of this serviceable volume.

The Catholic Historical Review opened its twenty-fourth volume in April, 1938, with "The 'More Perfect Union': The Continental Congress Seeks a Formula," by Edmund C. Burnett. This timely and scholarly paper is followed by "The Children's Crusade," by Joseph E. Hansbery, and "French Diplomacy in Philadelphia, 1778-1779," by

John J. Meng. Thereafter, in reviews, notes and comments, notices, and periodical literature bibliographies, will be found a well-rounded survey of publications and items of interest to Catholic teachers and students.

After an unavoidable delay the *Annals* of the Franciscan Province of the Sacred Heart has resumed publication under the editorship of Reverend Marion Habig, O. F. M.

Saint Albertus Magnus, a translation of twelve essays on the life of St. Albert the Great, by Reverend H. Wilms, O. P., has recently been printed by the Saint Catherine's Press of Racine, Wisconsin. The booklet of sixty-two pages is well bound and illustrated and contains historical information along with devotional practices of the great leader.

The Historical Bulletin, May, 1938, continues its series of short biographies of the popes who were prominent at the turning points of history. "Saint Pius the Fifth," by Pedro Leturia, of the Gregorian University, discusses the only canonized pope of modern times, especially in the relations between Rome and Constantinople and Geneva. John B. McGloin presents a brief treatment of Bishop Patrick Lynch of Charleston, South Carolina, in the special capacity of Commissioner to Rome of the Confederate States. Father Francis S. Betten clears up some misconceptions regarding "That Holy Roman Empire."

The Florida Historical Quarterly carried an article on "The Landing of De Soto," by John R. Swanton, in its January, 1938, number, and published in translation a letter written by the conqueror from Florida in 1539. Other space was devoted to "The Arrival of De Soto's Expedition in Florida," by Mark F. Boyd.

December, 1937, marked the passing of Mr. Wilberforce Eames, chief bibliographer of the New York Public Library, well known for his compilations and for his generous assistance to students of history.

Professor William Kenneth Boyd, distinguished for his many works on history pertaining to the South, died in January of this year.

Book Reviews

The Older Middle West, 1840-1880. By Henry Clyde Hubbart. New York, D. Appleton-Century Company, 1936. Pp. ix+305. \$3.50.

This volume differs from the various standard works on the West in general, and it also represents a study which is much more than a state history. The social, economic, political, and sectional developments in the area north of the Ohio River, and east of the Missouri River, are studied with reference to the period shortly before, during, and not long after the Civil War. The development of political affairs is traced in detail, but economic and social changes are treated with thoroughness. Various prominent leaders, such as Lincoln, Douglas, and Vallandigham are appraised with reference to their attitudes toward the section treated. A distinction is made frequently between the lower Middle West, the area in the river valleys, and the upper Middle West, or Great Lakes area. The attitude of the lower Middle West toward the Civil War has been given particular attention.

Certain attitudes of the pre-Civil War generation of the older Middle West have received necessary and proper emphasis. Although the author estimates that not more than 350 slaves were actually held in the old Northwest by 1840, despite the Ordinance of 1787, and although slavery as an institution was not welcomed in the Northwest, there was nevertheless practically the same attitude toward the free Negro in the Northwest that there was in the Deep South (p. 45 ff.). Nowhere in the West could the Negro vote, with the possible exception of the Western Reserve in Ohio. Even in the newer states of Michigan and Wisconsin, which conceivably might have been more liberal than the older states in the matter of suffrage, the sentiment was definitely against such a thing as Negro suffrage. In the lower Middle West, there was no inclination to give to the free Negro the civil rights that white people received. In general, the Negro was barred from jury service, was not permitted to give evidence in court, to receive poor relief, nor to attend the public schools. Ohio had a "Black Code" until 1849, comparable in severity with legislation relative to Negroes so placed on the statute books in the South.

The material on Stephen A. Douglas, (p. 117 ff.) is particularly good. Having traced, in a preceding section of the book, the disastrous effect of the Kansas-Nebraska Act upon the Democratic party in the Middle West, Professor Hubbart makes a careful analysis of Douglas. The appraisal, in general, is quite favorable to the latter. The author shows that Lincoln and Douglas were not far apart in the debates of 1858. The fact that Lincoln had not adopted a particularly humanitarian attitude toward the Negro is made clear by the remark made at

Charleston: "I am not, nor ever have been, in favor of bringing about in any way the social and political equality of the white and black races; (applause) . . . I am not nor ever have been, in favor of making voters or jurors of negroes, nor of qualifying them to hold office, nor to intermarry with white people" (p. 127). The absurdity of thinking of Lincoln as the Great Emancipator becomes evident to practically anyone if such a statement, which is not unique in Lincoln's utterances, is kept in mind.

The research on the attitude of the Middle West toward the Crittenden Compromise seems to indicate that the area concerned would have willingly accepted the terms of the Crittenden Compromise had they had an opportunity to vote upon it. That in turn, would have meant that the Civil War would have been averted for the time being. To maintain that the Civil War was inevitable is to adopt a position which is at once fatalistic, pessimistic, and unreasonable. As further evidence of the unwillingness of the Middle West that war should break out, we have the fact that supplies of all kinds went from the Middle West to the seceded states, up until, and, to some extent, even after the attack on Fort Sumter. The latter half of the volume brings out from unquestionable documentary sources, the apathy of much of the Middle West toward the Civil War; the dissatisfaction voiced with regard to Lincoln and his objectives; the election of 1862 and the gains made by the Democrats; the draft riots; and the attitude of the press.

The unanimity of opinion which some are inclined to think existed in the older Middle West while the war was going on simply had no basis in fact. An analysis is made of the election of 1864, with its impressive Republican victories, and the effect of the election upon that area, making it more a part of the East than had been the case up to that time, is discussed. The final chapter presents much material not generally known relative to the social life in the older Middle West.

An annotated bibliography and a well prepared index increase the utility of a volume which is simply not one more book about the West. It is an historical contribution which forces a readjustment of opinion on the part of most open-minded readers. That is a definite endorsement of the merits of any book.

PAUL KINIERY

Loyola University

Educational Foundations of the Jesuits in Sixteenth-Century New Spain. By Jerome V. Jacobsen, S. J. Berkeley, California, University of California Press, 1938. Pp. xii+292. \$3.

One must admit, in general, that there is a certain delicacy about the task of reviewing a book written by the editor of the periodical in which the review is to appear. But in the particular case of Father

Jacobsen's study of the beginnings of Jesuit educational work in Mexico, the miserable reviewer finds the difficulty pretty well solved by two considerations: the excellence of the book to be reviewed, and Father Jacobsen's patient good-nature.

This volume, as Dr. Bolton points out in an editorial preface, is the first of a series to be published on the work of the Jesuits in Spanish North America, between the years 1572 and 1767. With characteristic modesty, Dr. Bolton passes over his own large contributions to that history of the Jesuits, and fixes the attention of the reader on the present and future work of his students in this interesting field.

The book is carefully limited in scope. It is concerned with the educational, not the missionary, work of the Jesuits in New Spain; and it confines its main discussion to the years between 1572 and 1600, with only a bare outline of the long period following. It develops in some detail the origins and early functioning of the Jesuit colleges in Mexico City, Puebla, Oaxaca, Pátzcuaro, Valladolid (now Morelia), Guadalajara, and Tepotzotlán. Father Jacobsen has worked from sources, of which he gives a brief account in his nine pages of bibliography. He makes excellent use of sketch maps and plans of buildings.

The sources he has used are difficult sources to work. They are chiefly the official "Annual Letters" and other official letters concerning the Jesuit colleges in Mexico, some of which have been published by the Jesuit historians, Pérez de Ribas, Florencia, Alegre, Astrain, and Cuevas. These letters, to begin with, were written with a good deal of conscious and unconscious reserve. The human problems involved in the work of the Jesuits peep out, for the most part, only between the lines. The published form of these letters, again, is not always satisfactory: there are gaps and omissions, and occasional distortions; some datings are contradictory of each other.

As for the unpublished sources, Father Jacobsen had to go far afield to study them. They had suffered many vicissitudes in the three hundred and sixty-six years since the Jesuits first went into Mexico; they have been in part destroyed, in part widely scattered, due to the looting consequent on repeated governmental persecution of the Jesuits; and even now they can be used only in niggardly fashion because of the ridiculous hostility of the Mexican government toward the Jesuits.

In spite of these handicaps in his materials, the author, keeping to the solid ground of facts, has gathered enough data to furnish a convincing account of the early Jesuit schools in Mexico. It is also an inspiring account, not the less so for the modesty and sense of humor with which he presents it. It shows a group of men, beginning with 15 and increasing within twenty-eight years to a total of 272, earnestly and intelligently devoting themselves to an unselfish work of

education in New Spain. There were a few cranks and megalomaniacs amongst them, as there always are in any considerable number of men; but the overwhelming majority were, as history proves the Jesuits everywhere to have been, men of intelligence and virtue above the ordinary, trained in the patience and humility needed for team-work, modestly and sensibly adapting themselves to opportunities as they came, and keeping as clear before them as poor human nature in the lump can the supernatural purpose which gave the final meaning and objective to their work in education.

The material structure of their work was impressive, in buildings, in school organization, in the number of their students. They held tenaciously to the principle of endowing their colleges, in order to avoid charging tuition. But the endowments were meagre, not merely by modern standards, but even for Jesuit schools. In fact, they were generally in poverty, with debts overbalancing their income. Any momentary financial ease through some generous gift found them eager, not to enjoy the comfort it might bring, but to make use of it to expand their unremunerated service to more people.

It is not easy to evaluate the intellectual achievements of those Jesuit schools. Nor does Father Jacobsen attempt anything more than a general description of the content and method of the education they offered. But the whole impression made by the Jesuits' work as he sketches it is of something not merely civilizing, but essentially noble. To make such a portrayal convincing, Father Jacobsen wisely devotes the first thirty-five pages of his book to a summary account of the Institute and training of the Jesuits. That is an integral part of even this limited study of their work in the colleges of Mexico. It is their religious temper of dedication that explains what is really excellent in the Jesuits, as in all other religious orders. Without it, they could never have accomplished what they did accomplish; and without some understanding of that temper, the reader might well look upon the simple record of their work partisan writing.

The book is written in a pleasant, easy style. It is excellently printed, with but one defect: the annoying affectation of separating the notes from the text. It is a fine beginning of a series, to which one wishes well in wishing that the subsequent volumes may keep to the high standard set by this first volume.

W. KANE, S. J.

Loyola University

The Republics of South America. A Report by a Study Group of Members of the Royal Institute of International Affairs. New York, Oxford University Press, 1937. Pp. x+374. \$8.50.

The purpose of this work was to give in a single volume the elements of the present situation in the ten South American republics

in the light of their past development. The book marks the awakening of a group of students in England to the significance of the southern Continent in world affairs. It was intended as a survey introduction to general readers in Great Britain, who, up to the time of its publication, were deemed bereft of a handy single volume containing the essential facts of history, geography, culture, economics, society, religion, and foreign relations of the countries down south. The result is that the public of Great Britain now has a clearly written, brief, general survey, and the Study Group has fulfilled its purpose. It is not inferred, nor may the reader assume that the people of England are unable to read English as it is written in the United States, where a number of single volume surveys covering the same ground have been written and are in common use as textbooks for college students. The study of Latin American peoples and affairs, which has made such progress here, has spread to England, and it will not be surprising to see soon in England organized societies founded with purposes similar to our Pan-American Union and Hispanic-American Society.

The volume is based to a great extent upon the findings of American scholars and frequently cites in footnotes the histories of W. S. Robertson, J. Fred Rippey, A. Curtis Wilgus, and others. Considerable space is devoted to the part played by the physical background in the human and economic evolution of the Continent. This is followed by a chapter on communications and what influence such have had upon social, civic, military, and economic affairs. The population is given consideration in some detail, and two opinions regarding the racial problem are recorded. Some think the whites will predominate, others the Indian masses. The latter nativists point to Mexico as an illustration of "a nation under Indian leadership finding solutions for social and political problems which are both more essentially American and more suited to the real needs of the people than those dictated by crillo politicians." This is stated (p. 73), of course, without approval or disapproval by the authors, but, in view of the communistic trend in Mexico and the recent severance of diplomatic relations by Mexico and Great Britain, the authors are probably blinking now at the statement. Moreover, any one or any group attempting to generalize on politicians of either type, Indian or Creole, is merely chasing feathers in a wind.

There is a good but short discussion of the origin of man in America, followed by some ideas on the conquest and the conquering Spaniard. After remarking the individualism and lack of social instinct in Spain, it is inconsistent to describe a united Spanish realm; and it is incorrect. There appears no clear reason why the part played by the English in the slave trade and in piracy should not have been included in the information for English readers. The colonization was evidently too great a subject for any detailed treatment. More to the purpose of the book was the aftermath of the wars of emancipation from

Spain, but the independence era and the nineteenth century history of the ten republics are described in a single chapter narrowing down to a few pages on each of the three more progressive countries, Argentina, Brazil, and Chile. The main features, nevertheless, are brought out and revolve around the struggle between liberals and conservatives. Definitions of these terms are sufficiently vague, probably because the authors realize well how one might err in this regard, yet the implication is that the liberals were democrats and the conservatives were autocrats. Thus the fiction of democracy in Hispanic America is perpetuated, just as is the fiction of constitutional government during the ages of turbulence.

The last two hundred pages of the book give a good description of the countries and their dominating trends and personalities since about 1900. In the chapter on Religion and the Church the nineteenth century is considered and is based on the work of J. Lloyd Mecham and Mary Watters. The general conclusion is that a restoration of the "inward character of religion" is needed at present, without which the Church can make no "real contribution to thought and social action." This chapter might well be pondered by religious leaders, except for a few instances (p. 257-261) where some theorizing and "ism" discussion mar the story.

In summary it may be said that the book, informative and useful though it is, will not be in great demand in the United States, because of its price and because of the number of suitable books already available.

J. V. JACOBSEN

Loyola University

Magoon in Cuba. By David A. Lockmiller. Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1938. Pp. xiv+252. \$3.

There is particular timeliness to this study of United States intervention in Cuba. The efforts of the Good Neighbor Policy have done much to convince the nations south of us that we believe in honesty and kindness in our dealings with them, a conviction that is sorely needed. On the one hand, some publicists have impregnated their minds with the idea of the "Great Colossus of the North," the *imperialistic* and greedy Yankee whose Monroe Doctrine means nothing but a cover for our exploitation and control. On the other hand, not a few journalists in our country have abetted this conviction by methods based on little knowledge and much cynicism toward our government and finance. The future, not to say the present, demands that American peoples assist one another in preserving their political philosophy of democracy as well as their freedom and peace. Concrete show of fairness and friendliness toward the Hispanic nations will go far toward this end. At the same time scholars must tell the truth about

our past relations if we would avert the evils of prejudiced propaganda based on bad history.

The careful writing of Lockmiller fits well into this pattern. His subject, Charles E. Magoon, directed the provisional government during the second intervention of Cuba from 1906 to 1909. Such interventions have not been uncommon, as the historian knows. What is not known is the character and results of these intrusions into the lives of our neighbors, particularly as predicted under the régime of Theodore Roosevelt. That distinguished President is best known by the laity from his metaphor, "The Big Stick." In reality the stick was an absolutely necessary medium of settling impossible situations in the Caribbean, and while it had not the immaculate cleanliness of the proverbial hound's tooth it does appear in the clear light of close study remarkably decent as well as productive of excellent results for the subject of the chastisement.

Only a detailed picture like this one of Magoon will definitely clarify our dealings with the "Little Fellows" to the south of us. Well prepared by education and experience for the job, he was dispatched by Roosevelt and his war secretary, Taft, to right the ship of state for revolutionary Cuba. With a kind but persistent care he brought the Cubans back to normal political life, and handed over to them a smoothly functioning government under their honestly elected officials. Meantime he initiated and completed salutary reforms that were needed if ever we should bring them to govern themselves peaceably. Their law code must be redrawn, their civil service organized and purified, their educational system built up, their communication and transportation facilities made such that democracy could live. Finally, in sanitation, care for the underprivileged and criminal classes, municipal government, taxation methods, and further social institutions, he saw that essential changes were called for.

His work on all these projects is portrayed with meticulous accuracy and a minimum of author interpretation. The reader will conclude that the career of Magoon goes far toward righting the current opinion of our dealings with the people of the Caribbean, and for this he will thank the careful writing of Lockmiller. Such a book, of course, falls somewhat short of smoothness in the story; statistical study is scarcely the field for poetry. Yet there is a proper setting for the narrative, and a proper evaluation to conclude the volume. The index is serviceable and the bibliography sufficient. While he does not say it in as many words, the writer gives evidence in his notes of a fine respect for and reliance on the admirable work of Chapman's *History of Cuba*. The present study is a valuable complement to the latter book.

W. EUGENE SHIELS

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A Life of George Washington in Latin Prose. By Francis Glass, A. M., of Ohio. Edited by J. N. Reynolds. Third Edition, New York, 1836.

One purpose of a review of a good book is to bring the book to the attention of readers so that having some idea of the contents they may be induced to read the book reviewed. There may also be another purpose in reviewing a book. If the book be long out of print the discoverer of it may see much in it that is of interest today. Much, perhaps, that will make us appreciate more highly the men and scholarship of an earlier day in the Republic, so that an expression of its value may suggest to an enterprising publisher a probable profit in another printing of the work. Your reviewer, therefore, has some purpose in being a hundred years behind the times.

This Latin life of Washington was written by an American, a genuine scholar of the type of Bentley, Porson, Hermann, and Boech. In addition to the fine scholarship of those modern interpreters of the literature of Rome and Greece, he had the complete command of the classical languages characteristic of the immortal humanists of the Renaissance. Unlike those scholars who met and were encouraged by their equals in the halls of the palaces of the Medici and Popes, or in the universities of England and Germany, Francis Glass studied and dreamed and taught in a log cabin in the forests of Warren County, Ohio, more than a hundred years ago. The school house, said a pupil of the solitary scholar, was a "low log-cabin, with a clapboard roof, but indifferent tight—all the light of heaven found in this cabin, came through the apertures made on each side in the logs, and these were covered with oiled paper to keep out the cold air, while they admitted the dim rays. . . . In the center was a large stove, between which and the back part of the building, stood a small desk, without lock or key, made of rough plank, over which a plane had never passed; and, behind the desk, sat Professor Glass when I entered his school." The student saw the forest, the log cabin, the unplanned desk, but this is what Francis Glass saw: "The temple of the Delphian God," he said, "was originally a laurel hut, and the Muses deign to dwell accordingly in my rustic abode. 'Non humilem domum fastidiunt, umbrosamve ripam.' Here, too, the winds hold converse, 'Eurus, and Taurus, and Argestes loud,' and the goddesses of the Castalian fountain, the daughters of the golden haired Mnemosyne, are sometimes silent with the lyre, 'cithara tacentes,' that they may catch the sweet murmurs of the harp of Aeolus." It was there, he said, far away from Plutus, whom the prince of comic poets styled a "filthy, crooked, miserable, wrinkled, bald, and toothless creature," that he taught the young of either sex, strains before unheard.

All that is known of the life of Francis Glass is contained within the pages of his "Life of Washington" and the few notes of a pupil. His cabin school was about thirty miles from Cincinnati. In 1828, and

for several years after, Mrs. Frances Trollope, mother of the more famous novelist, Anthony, was in Cincinnati. She was very active, observant, brilliant, and just a little spiteful in her comments on the city and people of this metropolis of mid-America. Her book on the "Domestic Manners of the Americans" caused as much and as bitter criticism as the later unfavorable description of American manners by Charles Dickens. "Though I do not quite sympathize with those who consider Cincinnati," she says, "as one of the wonders of the earth, I certainly think it a city of extraordinary size and importance, when it is remembered that thirty years ago the aboriginal forest occupied the ground where it stands; and every month appears to extend its limits and its wealth." In the city were several small churches and chapels and many schools. Mrs. Trollope visited one school "kept by Dr. Locke, a gentleman who appears to have liberal and enlarged opinions on the subject of female education." There must have been an advanced classical scholarship, for students who had completed an elementary course in Latin or Greek were advised to become pupils of the recluse in the forest, Professor Glass.

Where Glass was born is not known. He was educated in Philadelphia, and spent the earlier part of his life in that city and vicinity, in literary pursuits. It is probable that he assisted Professor Ross in the compilation of his once well-known *Latin Grammar*. He contracted an unfortunate marriage and in 1817 began his wanderings in the West. He taught in various places and finally settled in Warren County, Ohio, where he became favorably known to the educators of Cincinnati. Later he moved, with his family to Dayton where he probably died shortly after completing his *Latin Life of Washington*.

Little need be said of the *Life* as a biography. Glass had few books of reference and no source material. He said the greater part of the work was written from memory. It is saturated with love of country and love of the great man all Americans revere. It is not written with the flamboyant zeal of Weems, and certainly has nothing in common with the pseudo-historical method of writing biographies characteristic of recent "Lives," but it is an excellent summary of the life of Washington. And there is hovering over the whole book, like a watchful, loving spirit, the genius of a solitary scholar never less alone than when meditating by himself in the forests of Ohio.

The style of the *Latin* is not brilliant, nor is it dull. It possesses this characteristic of the great Renaissance writers that it appears to be the native language of the writer. He does not think first in English and then translate his thoughts into Latin. In describing the men of the revolution, he uses the ancient language as if it were the language of the heroes of his story, and the events of which they were the greater part are discussed by them in the language of Rome as naturally as they might have discussed them in the language of New England.

In general the style resembles that of Livy with reminiscences of Sallust and Caesar. Occasionally words of doubtful origin are to be found, and expressions now and then that might, perhaps, make Quintillian gasp, but probably Quintillian himself would have approved the expressions when he found they really meant that Latin was a living language in the mind of a writer who was using the old language to describe new concepts. And so we may, not pardon, but accept: "Dux Knox" and "Congressus Americanus," and a few more that any purist, after due consideration, might accept.

Like every true scholar who wishes to see what he has laboriously done become a part of actual life, Glass hoped that his *Life of Washington* might be introduced into schools. The book is well adapted for that purpose. It is clearly written, grammatically sound, interesting, and in most appropriate language the story of a great man and a great life.

ENEAS B. GOODWIN

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The Daughters of St. Dominic on Long Island. By Reverend Eugene J. Crawford, M. A. New York, Benziger Brothers, 1938. Pp. xxiii + 389. \$3.50.

Every bishop is literally an overseer. The Bishop of Brooklyn, Most Reverend Thomas F. Malloy, has looked over Father Crawford's publication not merely in his official capacity but in that also of a literary and historical critic; he writes the Foreword, in which he views the work from a score of aspects and in all of them finds it highly praiseworthy. Should any reader suspect that his Excellency's enthusiasm is the mere outpouring of a personal friendship's tribute, a careful examination of the book may convince him that the praises were well restrained.

The volume presents us with another "Story of Courage," of that unheralded courage which ceaselessly carries on behind all convent walls in America, building up the Church of Christ in beauty and in strength throughout the land. But here we have a new species of heroism, and thus Father Crawford's account necessarily departs widely from the usual recital of the genesis of so many other communities, and carries consequently a rare interest.

The bewilderment of four German Dominican nuns, just arrived in 1853 from Ratisbon, and waiting in vain at the dock in New York for some friend is not the unusual part of the story, however pathetic, for such things occur even now. Possibly not Abbot Wimmer so much as their own lack of foresight was chiefly to blame for this their first, brief trial of courage. The new thing, which Father Crawford tells, with fine candor, is how not only this once, but through long years, these brave women kept their hearts up, enduring what

they did not have at their entrance into America, namely, a superabundance of guides. They were bound to obey their rule; they had to heed the counsels of their spiritual directors as well as those of their superiors in America and in distant Ratisbon; they had to obey the ordinances of bishops both in their new home and abroad, even though these seemed to be ever and again at cross purposes. How there was no general fatality to their enterprises, how the Daughters advanced spiritually in spite of the entanglements, and how they established their foundations for the social, religious, educational, and physical betterment of Americans, is the great theme of the book. The number of the original four was augmented after 1853 until today it is more than four thousand. Their hospital and school systems beyond the Atlantic seaboard, into the valleys of the West and on to the Pacific Coast. This chapter of history, illustrative of struggle and progress, was needed.

LAURENCE J. KENNY

St. Louis University

St. Thomas and the Gentiles. By Mortimer J. Adler. Milwaukee, Marquette University Press, 1938. Pp. ii+111. \$1.

This is the Aquinas Lecture for 1938, delivered by Dr. Adler under the auspices of the Aristotelian Society of Marquette University. In book form, the lecture has been supplemented by a body of notes larger than the lecture itself.

Dr. Adler analyzes the problem of getting a hearing for philosophic truth, by comparing the factors in that problem as they existed when St. Thomas wrote the *Summa Contra Gentiles* and as they exist today. The bridge between the Gentiles of the thirteenth century and the twentieth century Gentiles is the whole history of thought during the elapsed seven centuries. To know that strange transition, through the decadence of scholasticism, the naturalism of the renaissance, to modern scientism and positivism, is to hold the key to the modern history of philosophy.

But although the historical analysis is brilliantly done, it is kept subservient to the practical question: how would the mind of St. Thomas face the task of teaching our twentieth century Gentiles, who differ from his Moors, Jews, and heretics, in that they deny that "there is any such thing as true philosophical knowledge . . ." Our own hope in meeting that problem must be, not in Thomism or any other kind of "ism," but in a return to the balanced methods of St. Thomas.

As Dr. Adler points out, it is because those methods have not been kept in the full poise of living methods that philosophy has lost so much of its power and prestige. Those who have inherited the truths which St. Thomas taught have often served those truths badly by

trying to systematize them excessively. Those who abandoned philosophical truths, and latterly even despaired of the existence of such truths, lacked the intellectual modesty in the presence of inevitable antinomies which was part of St. Thomas' sainthood. All this has been said before, but seldom has it been said so pointedly and so well.

Indeed, this shrewd little treatise of Dr. Adler's is the finest sort of glorification of St. Thomas, as contrasted with any gloating Thomism; because it is a very successful attempt to exemplify in itself the spirit of St. Thomas, by its own direct and humble approach to the unsolved problem of disseminating truth, by the honesty and clarity with which it enters into the views of adversaries, by that recognition of our human limitations which, combined with courage and hope, makes up the true humor of the philosopher. Dr. Adler believes that the walls of positivist prejudice and misconception can be breached; and he believes that in spite of a very considerable experience of how high and how thick those walls are. His courage springs from a great charity, as well as from a great modesty.

These qualities, added to his high intelligence, ennoble Dr. Adler's work, and make his book a moving, an eloquent, book: not with the eloquence of rhetoric, although it is beautifully written; but with something of that serene splendor, the fire of starlight, that glows in the *Summa* itself. In an optimistic mood, the present reviewer might persuade himself that a revolution in the teaching and writing of philosophy would date from the publication of *St. Thomas and the Gentiles*. He is too much afraid of the cheerful smugness of many Catholic philosophers to venture upon any such rash prophecy. But he does contend that Dr. Adler pretty thoroughly proves that such a revolution should be on its way, right now.

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